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ENGLAND'S DEVOTION TO ST. PETER
DURING A THOUSAND YEARS.*

I.—PURPORT OF THIS PAPER.

THE extraordinary devotion of England, during the long period of a thousand years, to Blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostles, may be said to have a scientific and historical interest. It must enter largely, in some centuries very largely, into any faithful portraiture of the mind and character of our forefathers. It is a subject, therefore, that concerns the scientific student of history, and, in these days of the re-writing of history, it will not fail to obtain proper recognition, and to find its appropriate place.

No saint ever entered more deeply into the life of a nation than St. Peter into the life of our English forefathers from the sixth century onward. His singular prerogatives, his touching character, his watchful love for his children were seen by our ancestors to be as so many living realities, which took their place in moulding and elevating the thoughts, the desires, the life of the nation.

No one can say that the devotion of our forefathers to St. Peter was the outcome of mediæval ignorance, or a parasitical overgrowth of latter times upon the English Church, which it was the business of the Reformation to destroy. On the contrary, it sprang up in the first fervour of the conversion of

* A summary of this paper has been published by the *Catholic Truth Society*.
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England, and was strongest and most conspicuous in the earliest, or what some would call the purest, period of the English Church.

Three reasons urge us to examine this ancient and traditional devotion of the English people. One is because, during the last three centuries they have been blaspheming what their ancestors had dearly loved and revered for a thousand years. The religious contrast between the visible present and the invisible past can be perceived only by drawing out the true features of the historical past.

Another reason is, because it is assuredly desirable to contribute whatever we can to the unprecedented movement going on within the Protestant Church of England as by law established. That movement is one of return to the Catholic Church. Everyone beholds it. Within the Church of England there are now confraternities praying even for the grace of submission to the See of Peter. It is said on good authority that a Prime Minister warned the late Archbishop Tait, who was about to make an effort to stem the movement, that far from so doing he should make room for it, because it had become irresistible. The present Archbishop of Canterbury's restless endeavours to persuade himself and other English Protestants that their Established Church is in direct continuity of life and doctrine with the Catholic Church, which flourished in England for a thousand years, are visible steps in this certain, but unconfessed, return towards the centre of unity. It is a growth within the Establishment, not a pressure from without. It reminds one of Edward the Confessor's dream or prophecy, viz., that "the part cut off from the green tree and carried the space of three acres from the trunk shall, *without external assistance*, become again united to the stem, bud out with flowers and stretch forth its fruit as before, from the sap again uniting." And one remembers the words—with the hope that they were prophetic—said to have been spoken by St. Peter in a vision to St. Brithwold, "The kingdom of the English is the kingdom of God." It is right then to invite our Anglican friends to turn their attention to St. Peter's place in the history of the English Church. So far as they are honest in their new-found dogma of continuity, they will be certainly led to embrace

the doctrine of continuity in unity between the Head and the members, as manifested in the faith and devotion of the English Church for well nigh a thousand years.

The third reason for studying the ancient national devotion to St. Peter is, because the persecution of the last three hundred years, and all its sad consequences, have robbed its survivors of much of that cheerful, manifest, confident, and loving personal devotion to St. Peter, which seemed to be a special heritage of old Catholic England. It will take but little to revive the outward manifestation of the traditional love which is still cherished in faithful hearts. The flame of personal devotion to the Saint will readily burst forth again from that sterling obedience to the See of Peter, which has been the religious stay of Catholic fidelity in England during the past centuries of trial and suffering.

Nor was there ever a time when a downright hearty devotion to the person of St. Peter was more needed by Catholics than now. Fidelity to the See of Peter, obedience and loyalty to his successor are essential to our Catholic life. And this fidelity and obedience are continually brought to the test, in these days of religious indifference and worldly allurements, in every walk of life. Catholics who find themselves engaged in the world of trade and commerce, in the world of science and criticism, in the world of speculation and literature, in the world of politics and of social reform, are bound to keep their mind and conduct in harmony with the teaching and guidance of the Church. This is no such easy matter in the midst of a world that is casting everything into a seething cauldron of doubt, and pretending to reach all the first elements of truth, human and divine, by the unaided light of reason. Fidelity and obedience to the See of Peter form the Catholic's touchstone of safety wherever he may be. This fidelity and obedience will be wonderfully promoted by a strong, reasonable, and hearty devotion to the person of St. Peter, such as characterised the people of these northern isles for over a thousand years. We claim, then, from the Catholics of England, quite a special love and loyalty for Blessed Peter. Let us see if the claim be justified, on appeal to the history of the English Church.

II.—THREE UNIVERSAL SAINTS.

Three persons stood to Christ in an exceptional position of nearness and love. MARY and JOSEPH, His parents; and PETER, whom He identified with Himself as the Rock and the Shepherd, in the constitution and government of His Church.

We, His brethren by adoption, and the members of His Church, have also contracted relationships with these three persons, which are unique in kind and character.

Our forefathers gloried in being Mary's children, and they called England "*Our Lady's Dowry*."* But they understood full well that it was, not to Mary, but to Peter, that the government of the Church was confided. They realised that while the Lord committed us to the tenderest love of His own sweet Mother, He reserved to Himself our teaching and guidance, when He chose out Peter from among all men to be, not His successor, but His Vicar, to teach and confirm us in His Name.

III.—SOLEMNITY OF THE RITE CREATING PETER'S SUPREMACY.

Before entering upon the subject of the devotional relations which grew up between Blessed Peter and England, it may be worth while to call attention to the wonderful ceremonial which our Lord was pleased to adopt in raising Peter to the high position of a fellowship with Himself in the supreme government of the Church. In vain shall we look through the Old or New Testament for a parallel to the solemnity of this rite taken as a whole, whether we consider the number of steps and interstices by which it proceeded, or the significant fact that it covered the whole length of our Lord's Public ministry.

Christ did not raise Peter to the great height of the Supremacy by a sudden or by a single act of His Divine authority. The creation of the Supremacy bore a due proportion to the creation of the Body, over which Peter was

* For England's devotion to the Blessed Virgin all should read Father Bridgett's incomparable book, "*Our Lady's Dowry*." See also the folio volume entitled *Divi Tutelares Orbis Christiani*, by Antonio Macedo S.J. 1687.

to become the Ruler. The two creations went on, so to speak, *pari passu*, from the commencement of the Public Ministry to the eve of the Ascension.

Let us sketch an outline of the Divine ceremonial.

It began in the first days of the first year of the Public Ministry. Peter came into the presence of Christ, and "Jesus *looking upon* him said: Thou art Simon, the son of Jona: *thou shalt be called Cephas*, which is interpreted Peter." (St. John i. 42.) This is the whole, brief but pregnant, record of that first meeting. The act of "Jesus *looking upon* him," was sacramental, as when He afterwards "*breathed*" upon His Apostles. Here is the formal and public announcement of a promise that, at the proper time, Christ will change the name of this man, whom He had chosen to be the head of the New Dispensation, as, at the beginning of the Old, He had changed the name of Abram to one signifying the office he was to bear.

The year following, about the Feast of Pentecost, our Lord solemnly fulfilled the recorded promise. It was at Cæsarea Philippi, upon the occasion of the Apostle's confession of His Divinity, that He pronounced these words: "And I say to thee that *thou art* Peter;" and then He went on to publish a further promise: "And upon this Rock I *will build* My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I *will give to thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c." (St. Matt. xvi.)

Another interstice followed, and then our Lord, choosing the sacred moment which intervened between the Last Supper and the Passion, once more in the presence of the Apostles resumed the solemn rite whereby He was preparing for His own departure, by creating a Prince, a King, a Vicar to take His place. Turning to the body of the Apostles He said: "Satan hath desired to have you that he might sift you as wheat," and then, turning to Peter, He went on to say: "But I have prayed for thee that *thy faith* fail not, and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren." (St. Luke xxii. 31, 2.) And He went forth to His Passion.

And now there remained but the last act of the solemn rite which was to complete the creation of the Papal Supremacy. It was to take place after His death and Resurrection, almost

on the eve of the Ascension. It was to take place near the spot where it had commenced, on the coast of the sea of Galilee.

The Lord had prepared for this final ceremony, by something of unwonted care to secure the presence of His Apostles and His appointed witnesses. They had been told repeatedly to meet Him in Galilee. Before His Passion He had said to them: "After I have risen again I will go before you into Galilee."* On Easter morn the Angel warned the Maries: "Behold He will go before you into Galilee; there you shall see Him."† And again: "Go, tell His disciples and *Peter* that he goeth before you into Galilee."‡ And Jesus Himself repeated the injunction, as though this were now the uppermost thought in His mind: "Go tell My brethren that they go into Galilee; there they shall see Me."§

And now behold them assembled in Galilee. The Shepherd-King is about publicly to commit the care of His entire flock to that one man whom He had *looked upon* and chosen three years before in preparation for this solemn event.

The history of this last event stands out with exceptional prominence in the Sacred Text. St. John had written his Gospel to prove that Christ was God, and the proof was completed in twenty chapters, with the confession of his Master's Divinity by the Apostle Thomas: "My Lord and my God!" The task was done. The evangelist sums up his Gospel in two verses more, and it is closed.—But no, he has yet another Gospel to write, the Gospel of Peter's Jurisdiction, the Gospel of the Papal Supremacy. He had proved that Christ was God; he must now show that Christ had left behind Him, not a successor, but a Vicar, a Representative, a Visible Head over the whole flock, over the whole Church which He had created in His blood. Read this 21st chapter and examine it well. You will note:—

1. The similarity in order of procedure, of preparation and of charitable condescension to the minds of men, which marks the Sixth Chapter, wherein the Lord treated of that other mystery, the Blessed Eucharist. The creation of the two

* St. Matt. xxvii.

† St. Matt. xxvii.

‡ St. Mark xvi.

§ St. Matt. xxxiii.

Institutions, that of the Real Presence and that of the Supremacy, seemed to require a greater care, as they were to make a greater demand upon the mind and heart of man.

2. We are struck by the fact that the Divine Commission is bound up with most tender appeal to love and devotedness. God founded the Church in love, Christ loved the Church as His own flesh. He had *prayed* before His Passion for its unity, and He now makes formal *provision* for that unity, until the end of time. He places the whole under one. Thrice the Lord said to Peter, "Peter, lovest thou Me?" And then because Christ knew that he loved Him, He committed to him the care and the feeding of His lambs and of His sheep. "Feed My lambs, feed My sheep." Thus the great work was finally completed, completed in power and in love, completed amid the tears and perhaps broken-hearted sobs of Peter, completed in the sight of witnesses—Apostles and Disciples—in Galilee.

3. The remainder of the Chapter is all personal to Peter: it narrates the prediction that he shall grow old in his Office, and be finally, like his Master, bound as a malefactor, led in procession, and at last crucified. So it came to pass Peter grew old in labours; was cast into the Mamertine dungeon, was bound, scourged, led through the city as a criminal, crucified with head downwards, and buried within a hundred yards of the place of his execution, outside the gate—not of Jerusalem, but of Rome. And down to the present day the dust of his bones draws like a magnet to itself the whole Christian world. Of him also, as of his Master, it may be said: "And his sepulchre shall be glorious."

IV.—ITS ACCEPTANCE BY THE CHURCH.

The Church at once recognised the Headship constituted by its Divine Founder. Without burdening ourselves with long quotations, let three witnesses be cited.

St. Cyprian, A.D. 284: "There is but one Church founded by Christ on *Peter*." (*Ep.* 70.)

St. Ambrose, A.D. 385: "Where *Peter* is there is the Church and eternal life." (in *Ps.* 40.)

St. Leo, A.D. 440: "Out of the whole world *Peter alone* is chosen, and is set over the vocation of all nations and over all the Apostles and all the Fathers of the Church. *Peter* in his own person rules all whom Christ rules as Head. A great and marvellous fellowship in its power has God conferred upon this man."*

And again:

"Who can be so ignorant and so jealous of the glory of Blessed *Peter* as to believe that there is any part of the Church which is not ruled by his solicitude and enlarged by his help? That love of the Prince of the Apostles for God and for man, which neither the confinement of a prison, nor chains, nor popular violence, nor the threats of kings could overcome, is assuredly still vigorous and alive throughout the Church."—(*Serm* 83.)

The Church has ever considered St. Peter as continuing through all time to preside over the entire Church. As St. Boniface wrote in the fifth century: "The Blessed Apostle *Peter* looks on you with his own eyes, nor can he who received charge of all fail to be near to all." Peter, then, is ever living in his See, and his voice is heard to-day through Leo, as yesterday through Pius, and the day before through Gregory, up the long pathway of the Christian era.

V.—DOCTRINE HELD BY THE EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH.

The faith received by the English people in the sixth and seventh centuries was identical with the Catholic and Roman faith that had been taught throughout the world. The Supremacy of Peter, and obedience to his See, were everywhere regarded as fundamental doctrines of salvation.

Let our two earliest English writers, St. Aldhelm and Venerable Bede, briefly bear their authentic witness to the doctrine of the English Church, before we enter on the main subject of this paper.

And first, St. Aldhelm, whom Bede described as "most learned." In 692 the English having discussed in Synod whether the Welsh in Devon and Cornwall were to be compelled

* *Serm* iv. cap. 2, in anni ejusd. Assumpt.

by force to conform to the discipline of the Roman Church in the matter of the date for Easter and the form of the tonsure, it was decided that persuasion, and not force, should be used; and St. Aldhelm was commissioned to attempt the difficult task of convincing these ancient Britons. He at once appealed to them to yield, out of respect for the authority of St. Peter, treating the Supremacy of Peter as a doctrine acknowledged by all and as a crowning argument.

"Who," he said, "can expect to be joyfully greeted at the gate of heaven and to obtain admittance, if he despise the regulations of Peter's Church and take no account of his teaching? And if Peter, by happy lot and peculiar privilege, received the power of binding and the sovereignty of loosening in heaven and on earth, who will not find himself bound inextricably in fetters rather than mercifully released, if he refuse to receive the rule of the Roman Easter and the Roman tonsure?"

And he winds up his address thus :

"To conclude all in one short sentence: foolishly and vainly does he boast of holding the Catholic Faith, if he follow not the teaching (dogma) and the ruling of St. Peter. For the foundation of the Church and the solidity of the faith, reposing first on Christ then on Peter, cannot be shaken by the most violent storms and tempests; so the Apostle declares (1 Cor. iii. 2), *for other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus*. But in Peter, the truth irrevocably established the prerogative of the Church in these words: 'Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build My Church.' " (St. Matt. xvi.)*

The other early English witness to the supreme authority of Peter is Bede. Commenting on the 16th chapter of St. Matthew, which speaks of the power and authority of Blessed Peter, Bede premises his remarks by warning his readers that what follows should be the more attentively considered and borne in the more constant remembrance, because it sets forth the great perfection of divine faith, and furnishes most important strength to overcome temptations against this great virtue.

"Wherefore," he writes, "Blessed Peter, who confessed Christ with true faith and followed Him with true love, received in a special way the keys

*Letter to Geraint, King of the Welsh or Britons of Devon and Cornwall by St. Aldhelm or Ealdhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury 675-705; first Bishop of Sherborn, 705-709.

of the kingdom of heaven and the *sovereignty* of judicial power in the Church ; to the end that *all the faithful* throughout the world might know that, whosoever shall separate himself from the *unity of Peter's faith* and from *Peter's fellowship*, can neither obtain absolution from the bonds of sin, nor admission through the gates of the heavenly kingdom. Hence it is necessary to learn with great care the sacred *doctrines of the faith which Peter taught*, and to show forth good works corresponding to that faith."*

VI.—ENGLISH DEVOTION TO PETER BASED ON DOCTRINE.

It was not, therefore, upon mere sentiment or accident or personal attraction, but upon the solid basis of revealed Catholic doctrine, upon the undisputed fact that Christ had chosen Peter to be His Vicar and *alter ego*, that our forefathers built up the national devotion to St. Peter—a devotion for which they became conspicuous among the nations of Europe. To England belongs the honourable pre-eminence in the Church, that as she was most singularly devout to St. Peter during her religious prosperity, so did she prove herself in the time of adversity to be more fruitful than any other nation in the number and heroism of her martyrs for Peter's Supremacy. At the Reformation it was the authority of St. Peter that formed the main object of attack. The attack was met by a multitude of English men and women of every rank and degree, who poured out their life's blood in defence of the Supremacy. The cause of no less than 315 of these martyrs is now before the Holy See for canonization.

We purposely omit, in this place, all consideration of the numberless instances of Papal jurisdiction, exercised over the Sovereigns, Bishops, and people of England, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, *in the name of Peter*—of the national synods convoked and presided over *in Peter's name*,—of the creation of Sees, of the use of Papal provisions and all other acts of jurisdiction performed in England by the authority of Blessed *Peter*. The present object is simply to illustrate the devotion of the English people to St. Peter, by such facts as these:—That they delighted to call their most glorious churches after his name ; that they were continually on pilgrimage to Rome in order to pray at his shrine and to venerate his Successor ;

* *Bede's Works*. Hom. 27, Giles' Ed.

that they opened a school close to the tomb of the Apostle, the better to secure for England the purity of Peter's faith; that they taxed every inhabited house in the land to pay an annual tribute—which they considered to be rightly due—to Blessed Peter; that they made to him bequests of land and property; that they founded guilds in his name, with prayers and functions and feasts in his honour; that his name was constantly on their lips; and that the thought of his power and influence penetrated their literature, their habits and conversation. Many were the graces and miracles which experience had taught our forefathers to attribute to Peter's powerful intercession. He was formally chosen as their special Patron and Protector by the Sovereigns of England. Kings, Bishops, and people gloried in their close communion with his See, and felt that while they honoured and obeyed his Successor they were honouring and obeying Peter himself.

VII.—PROOFS OF THE DEVOTION OF ENGLAND TO ST. PETER.

1.—*Dedication of Churches to Blessed Peter.*

The first great Abbatial Church of Canterbury was dedicated to St. Peter. To him are dedicated England's two most famous Minsters: Westminster, where the Sovereigns of England are crowned, and the Metropolitan Church of York. For a considerable period all the churches in Northumbria were dedicated to St. Peter. After a time England became, as it were, girdled by stately fanes bearing Peter's name. Begin with Bamborough in the North, and travel round England, and you will pass great cathedrals, noble abbatial or conventual churches reared to St. Peter's honour in Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, Whitby, Ripon, and York; in Bardney, Peterborough, and Ely; in Westminster, Canterbury, Selsey and Chichester, Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Coventry, Worcester, Gloucester, and Llandaff. No less than 13 magnificent Cathedrals and Abbatial churches, dedicated to St. Peter, sent their Lords to Parliament.

The following is a list of the 19 old English COLLEGIATE CHURCHES dedicated in honour of *St. Peter*.*

- CAMBRIDGE, Peter House, the oldest Cambridge College.
 CHICHESTER, Cathedral Church. The See transferred hither from Selsey.
 EXETER, Cathedral Church, first served by monks O.S.B., then by Secular Canons.
 HEYTESBURY, Collegiate Church (Wilts.)
 HOWDEN, Collegiate Church (Yorks.)
 WELLINGBOROUGH, Collegiate Church (Northamp.)
 LINGFIELD, Collegiate Church (Surrey).
 LLANDAFF, Cathedral Church.
 LONDON, St. Peter's College of Petty Canons in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.
 LONDON, Collegiate Church or Royal Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, without the city boundary.
 OXFORD, Magdalen College.
 RIPON, Collegiate Church (Yorks.) Monks O.S.B. replaced by Secular Canons.
 RUTHYN, Collegiate Church (Denbigh).
 SELSEY, Cathedral Church (Sussex). The See translated to Chichester.
 SIBTHORP, Collegiate Church (Notts.)
 TATTERSALL, Collegiate Church (Lincolnshire).
 TIVERTON,† Prebendal Church (Devon).
 WOLVERHAMPTON, Collegiate Church and Royal Free Chapel. (Staffordshire).
 YORK, Cathedral and Metropolitan Church.

The following is a list of the 60 old English CONVENTUAL Churches dedicated in honour of *St. Peter*:—

- ABBOTSBURY (Dorset.), Benedictine Abbey.
 ATHELNEY (Somersetshire), Benedictine Abbey.

* These lists have been prepared by a kind friend, to whom the writer is indebted for many items of information and for much trouble taken to verify statements of fact. He has also prepared a catalogue of all the old Churches and Chapels dedicated to *St. Peter*, which we hope to print at the conclusion of these articles.

† Tiverton was not in strictness a Collegiate, but a Portionary or Prebendal, Church.

- BARDNEY (Linc.), Benedictine mitred and exempt Abbey.
BATH (Somers.), Benedictine Abbey, afterwards Cathedral Priory.
BOURNE (Linc.), Austin Canons' Abbey.
BREDON (Warwickshire), Benedictine Monastery.
BRINKBURNE (Northumb.), Austin Canons' Priory.
CANTERBURY, Benedictine mitred and exempt Abbey.
CARBROKE (Norfolk), Nuns' Priory.
CASTLEACRE (Norfolk), Cluniac Priory.
CERNE (Dorset.), Benedictine Abbey.
CHACOMBE (Northamp.), Austin Canons' Priory.
CHERTSEY (Surrey), Benedictine Abbey.
CHESTER, the Nuns' Minster, afterwards the Monks' Abbey of St. Werburgh.
CHICH or ST. OSYTH'S (Essex), Austin Canons' Abbey.
CHICHESTER, Nuns. The site was afterwards occupied by the Cathedral Church.
COVENTRY, Benedictine Abbey, afterwards Cathedral Priory.
CRABHOUSE (Norfolk), Fontevrault Nuns' Priory.
DORCHESTER (Oxon.) Austin Canons' Abbey.
ELY, Benedictine Abbey, afterwards Cathedral Priory.
EYE (Suff.), Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in Normandy.
FOLKESTONE (Kent), Nunnery, swallowed up by the sea. It had been destroyed by Danes, according to a charter of Æthelstan.
FORDHAM (Cambr.), Cell of the Gilbertine Canons' Priory of Sempringham.
GLOUCESTER, Benedictine Mitred Abbey.
HACKNESS (Yorks), Cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Whitby.
HARWOOD (Beds), Austin Canons' Priory.
HEREFORD, Cell of Benedictine Abbey of Glo'ster.
HORKESLEY, LITTLE (Essex), Cell of the Cluniac Priory, of Thetford.
HUMBERSTONE (Linc.), Benedictine Priory.
HYDE, see Winchester.
IPSWICH (Suff.), Austin Canons' Priory.
KEYNSHAM (Som.), Austin Canons' Abbey.
KIRKBY BELLERS (Leic.), Austin Canons' Priory.
LEOMINSTER (Heref.), Benedictine Abbey, destroyed by Danes.

LINDISFARNE (Northumb.), Culdee Abbey and Episcopal See, afterwards a Cell of Durham Benedictine Cathedral Priory.

MALMESBURY (Wilts.), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

MARKBY (Linc.), Austin Canons' Priory.

MERSEY (Essex), Cell of St. Ouen's Benedictine Abbey at Rouen.

MONTACUTE (Som.), Cluniac Priory.

MUCHELNEY (Som.), Benedictine Abbey.

PERSHORE (Worc.), Benedictine Abbey.

PETERBOROUGH (Northamp.), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

PETERSTONE (Norf.), Austin Canons' Priory, then a Cell of Walsingham.

PLYMPTON (Dev.), Austin Canons' Priory.

SELE (Sussex), Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in Anjou.

SHERBORNE (Dors.), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

SHERWSBURY (Salop), Benedictine Mitred Abbey.

TAUNTON (Som.), Austin Canons' Priory.

THURGARTON (Notts.), Austin Canons' Priory.

TITLEY (Heref.), Cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Tiron in Perche.

WANGFORD (Suff.), another Cluniac Cell of Thetford.

WAREHAM (Dorset), Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in the Orléanais.

WESTMINSTER, near London, Benedictine Mitred and Exempt Abbey.

WHERWELL (Hants.), Benedictine Nuns' Abbey.

WEARMOUTH (Durham), Benedictine Abbey, then Cell of Durham.

WHITBY (Yorks.), Benedictine Abbey.

WINCHESTER OLD MINSTER, Benedictine Cathedral Priory.

WINCHESTER NEW MINSTER, Benedictine Abbey, afterwards removed to Hyde, beyond the city walls.

WIRRRAL-ON-THE-HILL (Som.), Nuns' Priory.

WORCESTER, Benedictine Cathedral Priory.

WOTTON-WAWEN (Warw.),¹ Cell of a Benedictine Abbey in Normandy.

After this come St. Peter's parish Churches. They were to be found in St. Albans, Bedford, Bolton-le-Moors, Bristol, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chester, Colchester, Derby, Dorchester,

Dover, Droitwich, Hereford, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Leicester, Leeds, Lewes, Maldon, Marlborough, Northampton, Nottingham, Shaftesbury, Sheffield, Stamford, Wallingford, Worcester, and elsewhere.

Sometimes it seemed impossible to satisfy devotion by dedicating one church in a town to St. Peter, but several must bear his name. Thus we have *seven* Peter churches in the City of Lincoln alone: St. Peter at Arches; St. Peter Eastgate; St. Peter at Gowts; St. Peter by the Pump; St. Peter Fishmarket; St. Peter beyond the Bar; St. Peter Broadgate.

London and Middlesex had seven Peter churches, or *eight*, if we reckon in St. Peter's College of Petty Canons; St. Peter Cheap; St. Peter Cornhill; St. Peter the Little; St. Peter the Poor; St. Peter *ad vincula*, or St. Peter Tower; Westminster Abbey Church, and St. Peter's, Harlington.

In the City of York there were, besides the Minster, St. Peter-the-less, St. Peter-le-Willows, and St. Peter's College of Vicars Choral, within the Minster close.

The City of Norwich had St. Peter Hungate, St. Peter Southgate, St. Peter Mountergate, and St. Peter Mancroft.

Winchester abounded in Peter Churches. Besides the Old Minster and the New Minster, there were St. Peter Colebrook, St. Peter in the Shambles†, St. Peter Whitbred, and St. Peter Cheesehill, or St. Peter in the Soke.

By the 16th century the number of St. Peter's churches and chapels very considerably exceeded a thousand. We know of 1,105 that were dedicated to him; the number may have been much larger, for there are many ancient chapels, over 30 for instance in Lancashire, whose dedications have been lost.

Of course, some of the churches dedicated to St. Peter were also dedicated to his companion St. Paul or to some local saint, such as to St. Hilda, who for local reasons outshone him at Whitby, as St. Etheldreda did at Ely, St. Aldhelm at Malmesbury, St. Swithin at Winchester.

† The present Catholic Church of St. Peter, built by Bishop Milner, occupies the site of St. Peter in the Shambles.

The following lists of Peter churches, made out according to dioceses and to counties, may be of interest:—

Churches and Chapels of St. Peter, as included in the several Dioceses.

Canterbury	*43	Winchester.....	†55
Bath and Wells	43	Worcester.....	66
Chichester	26	St. David's	17
Coventry and Lichfield ...	66	St. Asaph.....	4
Ely	21	Bangor.....	10
Exeter	48	Llandaff	12
Hereford	36	York.....	87
Lincoln.....	271	Carlisle.....	4
London.....	42	Durham	†12
Norwich	164		
Rochester.....	19	Total	1105
Salisbury	59		

Churches and Chapels of St. Peter, as included in the several Counties.

ENGLAND.

Lincoln.....	95	Surrey	20
Norfolk	92	Dorset	18
Suffolk	73	Buckingham	17
York.....	62	Stafford	15
Kent	58	Bedford	13
Northampton	57	Derby	13
Devon	47	Berks.	11
Somerset	42	Hertford	11
Leicester	40	Rutland	11
Essex	33	Huntingdon.....	10
Gloucester	33	Chester.....	8
Hants.	32	Middlesex.....	7
Wilts.	30	Lancaster.....	6

* Including eight peculiars situated in other dioceses. The churches of Calais, Quines, the adjoining parts of Picardy, have not been included under Canterbury, though, indeed, they were as much under, or in that diocese, as Jersey and Guernsey were under Winchester.

† Including three churches of the Channel Isles.

‡ Including two peculiars situated in Yorkshire.

ENGLAND.—(Continued.)

Hereford	27	Northumberland	6
Oxford	27	Cumberland	4
Sussex	27	Durham	4
Warwick	27	Westmorland	2
Cambridge	23	Cornwall	1
Nottingham	23		
Worcester	23	Total for England ...	1064
Salop	22		

WALES.

Monmouth	10	Denbigh	2
Pembroke	5	Merioneth	2
Anglesey	3	Montgomery	2
Brecon	3	Cardigan	1
Carnarvon	3	Flint	1
Glamorgan	3	Radnor	1
Carmarthen	2		
		Total for Wales	38

CHANNEL ISLES.

Guernsey	2	Jersey	1
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Summary of Peter Churches:—

Channel Isles	3
Wales	38
In England	1064

Great Total 1105

These lists are necessarily incomplete, as no doubt many old Peter Churches and Chapels passed away, during so many centuries, without a record.

The chantries of St. Peter might well be added to the above lists, for they possessed their own independent foundation and administration, and witnessed as eloquently as the Church to popular devotion.

*2.—PILGRIMAGES TO ST. PETER'S SHRINE.

Another evidence of the faith and devotion of the English people to St. Peter is to be found in their continual pilgrimages to the Tomb, or Confession as it is called, of this Apostle and to the sacred person of his Successor in Rome.

Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* furnish us with the earliest records of this devotion, which, happily, has never died out among us.

Bede tells us that Oswy, King of Northumbria—after he had settled at Whitby, A.D. 664, the disciplinary differences which divided the Scots and the English by an appeal to the authority of St. Peter, in the 58th year of his age,—“ bore so great an affection for the Roman and Apostolic See that, had he recovered of his sickness, he had designed to go to Rome and there to end his days, close to the Holy Places.”* Death, however, anticipated the fulfilment of his desire.

The first of the Royal pilgrims from England to Rome was Ceadwalla. Sprung of a regal race, he proved himself a daring and successful conqueror. He began by subduing the under-Kings of the West Saxons, becoming King of Wessex. He then laid waste Kent, and annexed the South Saxons to the kingdom of Wessex. He invaded the Isle of Wight, “ which till then was entirely given over to idolatry,” and cruelly slaughtered the Jutes who peopled that island as well as parts of the opposite coast. It may have been at Winchester, the capital of his kingdom, that he made the acquaintance of St. Wilfrid. Touched and captivated by the conversation and joyous character of Wilfrid, Ceadwalla, though he had not yet embraced Christianity, made over to the saint part of the Isle of Wight; and thus it came to pass that, with the evangelisation of the Isle of Wight, the conversion of England from idolatry was completed by St. Wilfrid, through Ceadwalla, about ninety years after the landing of St. Augustine. Through the influence of St. Wilfrid the King conceived a profound reverence for the Catholic religion and an unbounded affection for St. Peter and St. Peter's chair. He began to realise that he had discovered the existence of a kingdom far better worth striving after than

* *Bede's Hist.*, b. iv. c. 5.

any territory of Jutes or Saxons. He determined to embrace the faith of Peter, and ennobling his impulses and bending all his energies in a new direction, he speedily resolved to consecrate himself wholly to his Divine Master, and to betake himself to Rome, the fountain-head of Christianity, there to seek baptism and admission into the one-fold of salvation from the Blessed Successor of St. Peter. In the words, then, of Venerable Bede:—

Having most vigorously governed his nation two years, he quitted his crown for the sake of Our Lord and His everlasting kingdom, and went to Rome, being desirous to obtain the special honour of baptism in the Church of the Blessed Apostles. . . . And he hoped at the same time that, laying down the flesh as soon as baptised, he should immediately pass to the eternal joys of heaven; both of which things, by the blessing of Our Lord, came to pass according as he had conceived in his mind. For, coming to Rome at the time that Sergius was Pope, he was baptised on the Holy Saturday before Easter Day, in the year of Our Lord 689; and being still in his white garments, he fell sick and departed this life on the 20th of April, and was associated with the blessed in heaven. At his baptism the aforesaid Pope had given him the name of Peter, so that he might be united also in name with the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whose most holy body his pious love had brought him from the utmost bounds of the earth. He was likewise buried in St. Peter's Church, and by the Pope's order an epitaph was written on his tomb, wherein the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever, and the readers or hearers might be inflamed with religious desire by the example of what he had done."

The epitaph which was in the old St. Peter's was carefully transferred to the *Grotte*, or subterranean of the new St. Peter's, where it may be seen to this day in perfect preservation. The following is a rendering of the Latin verses.

High state and place, kindred, a wealthy crown,
Triumphs, and spoils in glorious battles won,
Nobles, and cities walled, to guard his state,
High palaces, and his familiar seat,
Whatever honours his own virtue won,
Or those his great forefathers handed down,
Ceadwal arnipotent, from heaven inspir'd,
For love of heaven hath left, and here retir'd;
Peter to see, and Peter's sacred chair,
The royal Pilgrim travelled from afar,
Here to imbibe pure draughts from his clear stream,
And share the influence of his heavenly beam;

Here for the glories of a future claim,
 Converted, chang'd his first and barbarous name.
 And following Peter's rule, he from his Lord
 Assumed his name at Father Sergius' word,
 At the pure font, and by Christ's grace made clean,
 In heaven is free from former taints of sin.
 Great was his faith, but greater God's decree,
 Whose secret counsels mortals cannot see.
 Safe came he, e'en from Britain's isle, o'er seas,
 And lands and countries, and through dangerous ways,
 Rome to behold, her glorious temple see,
 And mystic presents offer'd on his knee.
 Now in the grave his fleshly members lie,
 His soul, amid Christ's flock, ascends the sky.
 Sure wise was he to lay his sceptre down,
 And gain in heaven above a lasting crown.

Bede then tells us that:—

Ina succeeded Ceadwalla on the throne, and having reigned 37 years he gave up the kingdom in like manner to younger persons and went to Rome to visit the Blessed Apostles, at the time when Gregory was Pope, being desirous to spend some time of his pilgrimage on earth near to the Holy Places, that he might be more easily received by the Saints into heaven.

And the same thing was done during these times, through love of St. Peter, by many of the English race, nobles and common people, laity and clergy, men and women.*

So that pilgrimages to Rome in the seventh century had become quite a common devotion among the English people—their devotion, as is perfectly evident, being based upon their religious Faith.

A few years later, A.D. 709, Coinred, who had for some time nobly governed the kingdom of the Mercians, did a much more noble act by quitting the throne of his kingdom, and going to Rome, where, being tonsured and professed a monk, he continued to his last days in prayers, fasting, and alms deeds, close to the shrine of the Apostles. . . .

With him went Offa, son of Sigeric, King of the East Saxons, a youth of most lovely age and beauty, and most earnestly desired by all his nation to be their King. Led by the same thought and devotion to Blessed Peter, he left wife [his betrothed, who had vowed perpetual virginity], lands, kindred, and country, for Christ and for the Gospel. He, also, when they reached the Holy places in Rome, received the tonsure, and, adopting the monastic life, attained at last to his long desired vision of the Blessed Apostle in heaven.†

* *Bede's Hist.*, b. v. c. 7. † *Bede's Hist.*, b. v. c. 19.

Ethelburga, Queen of Wessex, it was who had persuaded her husband, King Ina, to give up his crown and to retire as a pilgrim to St. Peter's shrine in Rome, and it is said that she accompanied him on that tedious and dangerous journey, and that they both lived the rest of their days and died in humility, prayer and penance, near to the Confession of St. Peter.*

A few years later Frithogitha, Queen of the West Saxons, became a pilgrim to Rome, moved by her devotion to St. Peter; while Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria, received St. Peter's tonsure, and resigned his kingdom to Eadbert, who, in his turn also, in 758, received the tonsure of St. Peter for the love of God, and left his kingdom to his son.

In 853, King Æthelwulf sent his little son Ælfred to Rome when he was but five years old, and Pope Leo confirmed him, anointed him King, and took him for his episcopal son. This little boy became in time King Ælfred the Great.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle goes on to say that two years later:—

King Æthelwulf himself went to Rome with great pomp, and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned home. He rebuilt the English school in Rome, which had been destroyed by fire.

In 874, King Burhred went to Rome, and there settled down, and his body lies in St. Mary's Church, in the school of the Angle race.

But the most remarkable for its splendour of the Royal pilgrimages to Rome, recorded by ancient chroniclers, was that undertaken A.D. 1027, by the famous warrior and conqueror, King Canute. It attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. It was undertaken entirely out of devotion to St. Peter, and in belief in the power of that Apostle, as will appear from the following passage of the Royal letter, which Canute sent to England during the year he spent at the shrine of the Apostles.

Canute, King of Denmark, England, and Norway, and part of Sweden, to Æthelnoth the Metropolitan, to Archbishop Ælfric, to all the Bishops and chiefs, and to all the nation of the English, both Nobles and Commoners, greeting: I write to inform you that I have lately been in Rome to pray for the remission of my sins, and for the safety of my kingdom, and for the

*Others think that she became a nun and died in England.

nations that are subject to my sceptre. It is long since I bound myself by vow to make this pilgrimage; but I had hitherto been prevented by affairs of State and other impediments. Now, however, I return humble thanks to the Almighty God that He has allowed me to visit the tombs of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and to honour and venerate them in person. *And this I have done because I have learned from my teachers that the Apostle St. Peter received from the Lord the great power of binding and loosing, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven. On this account I thought it highly useful to solicit his patronage with God, &c.*

The history of St. Edward the Confessor's vow is well known. It was to make pilgrimage, as he himself writes, "to the tombs of the glorious Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and there return thanks for the mercies I have received, and implore God to grant perpetual peace and prosperity to me and my ancestors."

If during this important period of the making of England the Royal Houses were seen in pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostle on some fourteen or fifteen different occasions, it may be said of the bishops, clergy, and people that they were continually crossing the Alps, to and fro, between England and Rome.

In the fifth century St. Ninian brought the faith of Peter from Rome to the Southern Picts. In the next century St. Kentigern, whose diocese was conterminous with Strathclyde, and therefore included a great part of Lancashire, made no less, it is said, than seven pilgrimages to Rome.

St. Bennet Biscop journeyed thither six times, and Bede says of him that, after leaving Rome, "being once more overcome by his love of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, he resolved to travel back again to the city which is sanctified by his body."

St. Wilfrid, whose eventful episcopate covered 45 years, seemed to be always, staff in hand, with bright and cheery countenance, climbing the rugged Alps. His biographer says that "he fought for Rome, he pledged himself in youth to Rome; he did in public life what St. Bennet Biscop did in literature and in private life—spread Roman influences; he fought, not for York, but for Rome." Eddi, his companion, tells us that his favourite devotion was to St. Peter, and that he impressed his own love and reverence for him upon Kings and

people; and that he led Bishops, Primates, and Kings to make public profession of their determination "to obey in all things the commands of the Holy See." Finally his body was buried in Ripon, in the Minster which he had raised to his much loved Prince and Patron, St. Peter.

HARDSHIPS OF THE PILGRIMAGE TO ROME.

It may be well to bear in mind what a pilgrimage to Rome implied in those days. A rapid journey thither took from 30 to 50 days, instead of 40 hours as at present. The roads were infested with robbers, and pilgrims were exposed not only to every kind of fatigue, but to the most extortionate exactions. A writer on those times states that "no pilgrim can pass in safety, unless strongly guarded. Swarms of thieves beset every path, nor can they be evaded. They rob alike rich and poor; entreaty and resistance are unavailing." Aldred, Archbishop of York, was robbed crossing the Alps, and St. Elphege, of Canterbury, as he was entering Italy. Tostig, Earl of Northumberland and the three Bishops of York, Wells, and Hereford were waylaid and plundered, escaping only with their lives. In 921, a large company of English pilgrims was surrounded and massacred among the Alps, and the same fate befel another great pilgrimage from England the year following.

Ælfsine, Archbishop of Canterbury, was frozen to death in the mountain passes, and another was drowned on his way to Rome.

Queen Ethelswith died of hardships on her Roman pilgrimage, and her body lies in Pavia.

We learn the details of the Roman pilgrimage of St. Richard, an under-King of the West Saxons, and of his two sons, Saints Willibald and Wunebald, from the *Hodæporicon* of St. Willibald.*

They made their petitions in prayer at many shrines of the Saints that were conveniently situated for them; and going on, they came to the city called Lucca. Hitherto, Willibald and Wunebald had conducted their

* See Canon Brownlow's translation of the *Hodæporicon* of St. Willibald, (circa 754 A.D.), published by the *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, 1891.

father with them in their company on the journey. But at Lucca he was all at once attacked with a sudden failure of bodily strength, such that, after a short time, the day of his end was at hand, and the disease increasing upon him, his worn out and cold bodily limbs wasted away, and thus he breathed out his life's last breath. Those two brothers, his sons, then took the lifeless body of their father, and with the affection of filial devotion, wrapped it in beautiful clothes, and buried it at St. Frigidian, in the city of Lucca. There rests their father's body. p. 7.*

From St. Willibald's *Itinerary* we learn that their sister, St. Walburga, accompanied them, and that they, like other pilgrims to Rome, were attacked and prostrated by the Roman fever.

From Lucca they reached the long-desired Rome, and craved indulgence with tears of devotion from the Prince of the Apostles. There they visited the shrines of the Saints situated in those parts, and making sacrifices every day of themselves to God on the altar of their hearts, they stayed on from the Feast of St. Martin's until Easter, burned up by a severe [fever] sickness. However, during this time the holy brothers were, by God's providence, appointed to be a consolation to one another, so that, while one lay in bed with an access of the fever one week, the other, profiting by a temporary abatement, ministered to the one that lay in bed. And thus alternating in their occupation, one better and the other worse, the two holy brothers took care of each other. P. 40.

The historian, Lingard, says that those who survived the hardships of their long and dangerous Roman pilgrimage, usually returned to England emaciated, worn out, and ruined in health. Many succumbed entirely. Nevertheless, love for Blessed Peter and for his Successor in the See was stronger than all obstacles, so that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in several places notes it as something quite unusual, that "there was no pilgrimage to Rome in this year," but it adds, significantly of England's devotion, that "the King sent couriers with Peter-Pence." This much may suffice to show England's love of Blessed Peter as illustrated by the pilgrimages to his Tomb.

(To be continued.)

* The inscription recording the death of St. Richard, King, exists to the present day in the Church of St. Frigidian, and is an object of interest to travellers.

PITT.

Pitt. BY LORD ROSEBERY. London: Macmillan and Co.;
and New York: 1891.

THERE is no more eventful period in the history of this country than the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. It commenced with the separation of the American Colonies, and the Declaration of Independence, and closed with the Union of Great Britain and Ireland; while the French Revolution, and the first part of our struggle with Napoleon stand forth as stupendous landmarks in the intervening years. These two decades exactly coincide with the first, and incomparably the more important, part of Pitt's political career; and for more than seventeen of those troubled years he not only held the reins of government, but may in truth be said to have been the Government itself. The biography of Pitt is therefore the history of Europe; and the greater credit is due to the noble author of the little book which we have placed at the head of this article, for having given in so condensed a form a really adequate account of the great statesman. This is the highest praise that can be given to a book of the kind as a literary work, but it must be admitted that its style is singularly unequal; at some times being epigrammatic and forcible, at others overladen with figurative language in a manner which does not conform to a critical standard. Nothing, for example, can be better than the author's description of the King's early correspondence with Pitt. "There is evidence," he writes, "to show that from the first he dreaded, and in the end disliked, his too powerful minister. In their correspondence we find none of the fondness with which George III. addressed Addington or Eldon. The King's tone is rather that of a man in embarrassed circumstances, corresponding with the family solicitor." Again, he sums up Pitt's withdrawal from his warlike policy against Russia, in March, 1791, in a passage of considerable power. "The rapidity of action with him had been equalled by the rapidity of reaction.

He resolved to recede in a space of twenty-four hours, during which the one division taken gave him a crushing majority. The cool promptitude and courage of his retreat, after a lease of power which would have made most men headstrong, was rare and admirable. Still it was retreat, absolute and avowed. To drain the cup of humiliation to the dregs, Fawkenor was sent to St. Petersburg to try what he could effect by expostulation. It needs no great experience of affairs to judge that, when menace has been attempted and has failed, expostulation is only an opportunity for insult." Many other instances could be cited of wise and weighty apothegms summing up the situation of which the author happens to be speaking; and we are puzzled to account for the introduction of such a passage as the following :—"Taxes might grow, and armies might disappear, and the gazettes might reek of disgrace. Still war loans and war contracts swelled the spawn of corruption; still, successive ministers and their friends filled their bottomless pockets, and found a solid set-off to national dishonour in the pickings of national profusion," or of that in which he describes the genesis of the modern Liberal party in somewhat unflattering terms: "A thick crust of Whiggism was sloughed off, and there appeared a first, raw, callow germ of the Liberalism that was to grow in silence for forty years, and then assume a sudden and overwhelming preponderance."

But enough of the manner in which Lord Rosebery has done his work. Admirable on the whole in a literary sense, and faultless in taste as coming from a statesman of an antagonistic school! Let us pass to the subject of the memoir, and endeavour to compress into a small compass the main features of his political life.

Pitt was undoubtedly a prodigy. Born May 28, 1759, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer in July, 1882, only a few weeks after attaining the age of twenty-three; and at the end of the following year (December 19, 1783) he entered upon his long term of office as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This precocity is perhaps the more extraordinary inasmuch as he possessed but a feeble constitution, and indifferent health. For many years of his boyhood he was

incapacitated from study, he was "fortified" by floods of port wine, and when he first went to Cambridge it was under the care of a nurse. How did he accumulate the stores of knowledge and experience which enabled him, as a mere youth, to govern a country and suppress Gibbon the historian? The latter incident as narrated by Lord Rosebery is too entertaining to be omitted:—

The great man, lord of all he surveyed, was holding forth, snuff-box in hand, amid deferential acquiescence, when a deep, clear voice was heard impugning his conclusions. All turned round in amazement and saw that it belonged to a tall, thin, awkward youth who had hitherto sat silent. Between Pitt, for it was he, and Gibbon, an animated and brilliant argument arose, in which the junior had so much the best of it that the historian took his hat and retired. Nor would he return. "That young gentleman," he said, "is, I doubt not, extremely ingenuous and agreeable, but I must acknowledge that his style of conversation is not exactly what I am accustomed to, so you must positively excuse me."

Pitt was in fact "born a politician," and was educated with unceasing vigilance and assiduity by his father, the Earl of Chatham. During the seven years which he spent at the University, leading "the austere life of a student," and "never missing hall or chapel or lecture save when illness hindered," his only relaxation being a trip to London to eat his dinners at Lincoln's Inn and to hear his father speak, he no doubt acquired vast stores of learning. He entered Parliament for the first time in January, 1781, towards the close of Lord North's administration, as member for Appleby, and a month later made his maiden speech, which raised him at once to a position of proud pre-eminence. It was delivered without previous preparation on Burke's Bill for economical reform; and it was what, perhaps, no other first speech ever was, an effective reply in debate. Fox and North and Burke vied in congratulation. "He is not a chip of the old block," said the latter, "he is the old block itself!"

During this year Pitt practised at the bar, and although he did not hold many briefs either at Westminster or on Circuit, he obtained several encomiums from the Bench for his skill in argument and cross-examination. At this time also he seems to have strayed near the edge of the precipice which was fatal

to his great rival, for Wilberforce writes in his diary as follows:—

We played a good deal at Goosetree's, and I well remember the intense earnestness which Pitt displayed when joining in those games of chance. He perceived their increasing fascination, and soon after suddenly abandoned them for ever. Cited Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, vol. I. p. 54.

Having escaped from the bar, and also from Hazard, and having refused a subordinate post in the Rockingham ministry, he accepted from Shelburne the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This he held for only a few months, and on the resignation of Shelburne, though then only in his twenty-fourth year, refused to accept the proud post of Prime Minister. Lord Rosebery speaks of this act of self-denial with unqualified admiration. "With a judgment," he writes, "which can only be described as consummate, and a self-control which few by any experience attain, the young statesman, able, eloquent, and courageous as he was, refused the splendid prize, and prepared to resume his practice at the bar." He had not, however, long to wait for his opportunity, as the "Coalition Ministry" fell in the beginning of 1783, on Fox's Bill for "the better government of India," a Bill which was well described by North as "a good receipt to knock up an administration." On this occasion the King at once sent for Pitt, and "within twelve hours he had accepted the first Lordship of the Treasury and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer." It was not expected that his ministry would endure for a month, and his writ was moved amid "universal derision," yet for seventeen years he held an uninterrupted lease of power. Friends and foes alike regarded Pitt's Ministry as a "boyish prank," as a new expedient to fill up a few days, when the Government, like a set of children playing at Ministers, would be sent back to school. In truth there was but little promise of permanency in the "team" which Pitt was able to secure. It would be impossible to condense or improve the language in which Lord Rosebery describes the inadequacy of his supporters:

Camden, the devoted friend of Chatham, and Grafton, whom Chatham had made Prime Minister, both refused office. For Secretaries of State he had to fall back on Tommy Townshend (now chiefly remembered by Goldsmith's famous line) who had become Lord Sydney, and the young

Marquis of Carmarthen, who was upright and well-intentioned, but vain and inadequate. He secured, indeed, the scowling hypocrisy of Thurlow and the naval fame of Howe; but the one was insidious and the other dumb. It is always difficult to understand the principle on which the Cabinets of the eighteenth century were formed. Pitt's was a procession of ornamental phantoms. He, himself, was the only Cabinet Minister in the House of Commons—Dundas, the Lord Advocate and Treasurer of the Navy, who was to be his right-hand man from the beginning to the end of this administration, was outside the Cabinet. Of the Cabinet Ministers, five occupied in solemn silence the front bench of the House of Lords; while Thurlow on the Woolsack, though he often spoke, as often as not did so in opposition to the Government.

Thus, practically alone and unaided, Pitt had to sustain the enormous burthen cast upon the Government during the remaining years of the eighteenth century; and when he entered upon office it was in the face of a hostile majority in the Commons, including every debater of the first rank. On the very first day he was twice defeated by substantial majorities, but he held on in the hope of securing many seats at the general election. "Two accidental circumstances," says Lord Rosebery, "also occurred to Pitt's advantage." One was that he was nearly murdered by an ambuscade of ruffians opposite Brooks' Club on his return from the city; the other that he refrained from securing for himself the sinecure office of the Clerkship of the Pells, which was worth £3,000 a year, and which then fortunately fell vacant. But why this refusal should be called an "accidental circumstance" we entirely fail to perceive. Pitt was poor, his position was precarious, yet he splendidly rejected an ample provision for the remainder of his life. Was it an act dictated by personal pride, or was it far-seeing policy? Whatever may have been the motive, it came to a people accustomed to corruption as a revelation of a new code of political morality. "They," writes Lord Rosebery, "were familiar with great orators, and they had seen most of them provided at one time or another with sinecures or pensions; but here was a youth of equal ability to whom it did not seem to occur to place his own fortunes in competition with the Commonwealth—to whom money that could benefit the State was abhorrent. Even Thurlow could not refrain from a growl of admiration!"

A general election was, of course, a necessity; for no Minister

can govern long with a majority against him in the Commons, and the election of 1784 may be said to have been the turning point in the career of Pitt. The country was with him, and he swept the polls. Although Fox was himself returned for Westminster after a memorable contest, which lasted 40 days, 160 of his followers—"Fox's martyrs" they were nicknamed—lost their seats. To what is such a revulsion of feeling to be ascribed? Why did the British public forsake Fox, who had lately been their idol? Lord Rosebery gives the answer in a few words—"The country was sick of the *old lot*;" and with good reason, for they had "landed Great Britain in an abyss of disaster and discomfiture, such as she had never known since the Dutch ships sailed up the Medway." Our troops had been beaten by the Americans and the French; our fleet abandoned to France and Spain the command of the Channel; in the courts of Europe our influence was nil; England had in fact sunk to the position of a second-rate Power. Her domestic affairs were in an equally deplorable condition. Mobs set fire to the capital, taxation was oppressive, distress and discontent prevailed everywhere. Consols stood at 56, and the unfunded debt had been increased to such an enormous magnitude that the outstanding bills were at a discount of fifteen to twenty per cent. Smuggling was carried on to an extraordinary extent. The illicit trade in tea was estimated to be more than double the legal trade; forty thousand persons were said to be engaged in it, and the farmers along the coast abandoned agriculture for the more profitable pursuit of carrying smuggled goods to a distance from the shore. It is not to be wondered at that, in very desperation, the country grasped at any chance of escape from the rulers who were at all events concomitant with disaster, and (adopting Lord Rosebery's eloquent language):—

At this moment there appeared before them a young University student, rich with lofty eloquence and heir to an immortal name, untainted in character, spotless in life; who showed the very first day that he met Parliament as Minister a supreme disdain for the material prizes of political life. The auspices under which he obtained power were not indeed popular, but less odious than the combination he succeeded. To a jaded and humiliated generation the son of Chatham came as a new hope and a possible revelation. Here was one who would not be easily corrupted; nay, one who might stem the tide flowing so fast against us at home and abroad. In a few months the elder Pitt had raised England from the

ground and placed her at the head of Europe. Might not something be hoped of his son ?

In his first year of office, Pitt passed his India Bill, and set himself earnestly to work to remedy the financial condition of the country. His budget was remarkable for the great variety of expedients to which he resorted for the purpose of raising the required revenue, and no less than 133 financial resolutions were moved by him on the night of its introduction. Aided by stringent measures for the suppression of smuggling, Pitt's financial policy met with unqualified success, and there seemed every prospect that the floating debt would be liquidated at an early period.

The subject of Parliamentary Reform had been the first which engaged the attention of Pitt when he entered the House of Commons ; and in the session of 1785 (April 18th), he once more, and for the last time, made a strenuous effort to correct the existing abuses. He proposed to disfranchise thirty-six decayed boroughs, to give additional representation to the Metropolis and the larger counties, and to extend the franchise to copyholders, but even this moderate measure was more than the House of Commons could be prevailed upon to accept, and Pitt suffered the mortification of a defeat by a majority of seventy-four votes. It is interesting to note the large and liberal policy which Pitt adopted at this time towards Ireland. In 1782 parliamentary independence had been conferred upon that country ; and Pitt, recognising that step as irrevocable, in the session of 1785, "sought to unite the two countries on the sure basis of commercial intercourse and common interest." With this object he prepared his "Eleven Resolutions," the general scheme of which was as follows :—First, to allow the importation of the produce or manufacture of other countries, through Great Britain into Ireland, or through Ireland into Great Britain, without any increase of duty on that account. Secondly, in all cases where duties on any article of the produce or manufacture of either country were different on importation into the other, to equalise the duties by reducing the higher to the lower scale ; and thirdly, to appropriate the surplus gross hereditary revenue of Ireland above £656,000 to the maintenance of the naval force of the Empire. These Resolutions were presented for the approval of

the Irish Legislature in February, 1785, and passed both Houses with but little opposition. When they were transmitted back to England, Pitt in the first instance moved only a General Resolution expressing the desire of the House for the final adjustment of the question; but in the great speech which he delivered on that occasion he expounded in detail the views which he had formed. There were, he said, but two possible systems for countries placed in relation to each other like Britain and Ireland. The one of having the smaller completely subservient and subordinate to the greater, the other a participation and community of benefits, and a system of equality and fairness which, without tending to aggrandize the one or depress the other, should seek the aggregate interest of the Empire, and after denouncing the past treatment of Ireland by England, he continued with the following words of warning—"Surely, after the heavy loss which our country has sustained from the recent severance of her dominions, there ought to be no object more impressed on the feelings of the House than to endeavour to preserve from further dismemberment and diminution—to unite and to correct—what yet remains of our reduced and shattered Empire."

Pitt's eloquence was in vain. In many parts of England a loud and angry cry arose. The manufacturers of the great towns for the most part vehemently declared that they should be ruined and undone, and their opposition was too powerful to be ignored. Pitt was unable to carry his original resolutions, and introduced a fresh batch in an amended form; but the Amendments, which attempted a restriction on the Irish Parliament in respect of the Navigation Laws, hopelessly alienated Irish support. The New Resolutions were passed in the English Parliament; but being denounced in Ireland by Grattan, in a speech "incredibly eloquent, seditious and inflammatory," they were withdrawn by the Chief Secretary, and a general illumination of Dublin celebrated the disaster.

We are compelled to pass rapidly over the seven years of peace and prosperity which preceded the struggle with France. They were mainly employed by Pitt in perfecting his financial schemes, and this period of repose enabled him to reduce the National debt by ten millions. The Regency Bill, necessitated by the King's temporary insanity, would have immediately

caused the fall of Pitt, if it had become law; for the Prince of Wales was his sworn foe. Fox wrote in jubilant terms—"in about a fortnight we shall come in." Pitt, on the other hand, made "unostentatious preparations to resume his practice as a junior at the Bar. The merchants of London met, and voted £100,000 to place him beyond the accidents of politics." But Pitt disdainfully refused the splendid offer, "and yet at the time," as Lord Rosebery says, "he was insolvent." It is only on account of this incident, which places in so clear a light the purity and disinterestedness of Pitt's motives, that the Regency Bill is mentioned here; for the King recovered, and in a short time the Opposition might have been brought down to the House in a couple of hackney coaches. The French Revolution while it was in progress had but little effect upon the social and political life of England; and Pitt, "while the eyes of all Europe were fixed on Paris, ostentatiously averted his gaze," and devoted himself to the preparation of his budgets, and the settlement of domestic questions. But the time was at hand when the most peace-loving of English Ministers should become engaged in the greatest of England's wars.

"To no human being," writes Lord Rosebery, "did war come with such a curse as to Pitt, by none was it more hated or shunned." It defeated all his most cherished plans. "The task he had set himself was to raise the nation from the exhaustion of the American war; to repair her finance; to strengthen by reform the foundations of the constitution, and by a Liberal Irish policy the bonds of empire—as it was, he was doomed to drag out the remainder of his life in darkness and dismay, in wrecking his whole financial edifice to find funds for incapable generals and for foreign statesmen more capable than honest, in postponing and indeed repressing all his projected reforms."

Revolutionary France was not an agreeable neighbour, and at this time she was actively engaged in a Republican propaganda throughout the monarchies of Europe. This England bore patiently, and it was not until she was desired to tear up the Treaty of Westphalia that her spirit was roused. That treaty had assured to the Dutch the navigation of the Scheldt, and Pitt himself, so lately as 1788, had in the name of Great Britain, solemnly renewed the guarantee. The

French, however, had recently discovered "a law of nature" whereby the Scheldt should be open to the world, and as Pitt preferred treaty obligations, and his own good faith to this new-fangled "law of nature," the French Convention on February 1st, 1793, declared war on Great Britain and Holland.

For the first six months things went well with us, but from August, 1793, until the close of Pitt's career our armies were almost uniformly unsuccessful, while our splendid naval victories did little more than avert the invasion and conquest of the country. In vain did he spend vast sums in subsidising foreign states! Our allies one after another fell away from us, until in 1797 Austria laid down her arms and left England alone to carry on the desperate conflict. This year Lord Rosebery describes as "the darkest that any British Minister has ever had to face." The crews of the channel fleet mutinied, and hoisted the red flag, and the mutiny spread all over the world. The army was also infected. A hundred and thirty-five millions had been added to the National Debt, and the credit of the country had fallen to the lowest depths.

"Never," says Lord Rosebery, "in the history of England was there a darker hour. The year had begun indeed with one great naval victory, and was destined to close with another. But these isolated successes formed the sole relief to a scene of perpetual gloom. Our generals and armies had been so uniformly unfortunate that we had no longer a foot on the continent of Europe. On land our great foe was everywhere triumphant. We were entirely on the defensive. Two invasions of our islands had been attempted. A third was impending; it might at any moment take place, and could scarcely be opposed."

It is unnecessary to follow further the progress of the European War. No rift appeared in the clouds during the remaining years of Pitt's administration, and the depression caused by the enormous drain of warlike expenditure was increased by a succession of bad harvests, and by internal dissension. England was leavened by the message of the Revolution, Scotland was discontented and disturbed, Ireland was in open rebellion. Habeas Corpus was suspended, and the fears of rulers were aggravated by the vagueness of the rumours which floated in the air. The country lived in an agony of apprehension. Plots and rumours of plots were

reported on all sides. Three thousand daggers were discovered in Manchester, and Burke dramatically threw one of them on the floor of the House in his impassioned demand for coercive measures. It was in this atmosphere of turmoil and dread and coercion, that the union of Great Britain and Ireland was conceived and effected. We are on this occasion only concerned with that remarkable event in its connection with Pitt, and so far as it affords an opportunity to the ex-Cabinet Minister of a Home Rule Government of expressing his views on the critical question. Of the methods by which the Union was carried there can be no two opinions. "The Irish Parliament," as Lord Rosebery says, "was bribed and bullied out of existence," and in strong language he describes the corruption as—"black, hideous, horrible; revolting at any time, atrocious when it is remembered that it was a nation's birthright that was being sold." Lord Rosebery, however, throws upon Castlereagh the disgrace of this "degrading traffic," and endeavours to extenuate the conduct of Pitt. Although the corruption was "wholesale and horrible," "it must," Lord Rosebery adds, "be remembered that this was the only method known of carrying on Irish government; the only means of passing any measure through the Irish Parliament; that so far from being an exceptional phase of politics it was only three or four years of Irish administration rolled into one." In Ireland Parliament had no power over the Ministers, and naturally the Ministers had no influence with Parliament except by means of bribery and corruption, which made "the everyday life and atmosphere of Irish politics." The total severance of the Executive from Parliament rendered the machine of government unworkable except by the power which corruption supplied; and the conclusion to which Lord Rosebery arrives seems to be that the system was so vile that "it was rightly ended, and ended by the only practicable method." The condition of both countries was desperate, and "a new arrangement had, by the admission of all parties, to be formed for Ireland. Grattan himself had tacitly given up his own Parliament as hopeless; for he had withdrawn from it, and encouraged the discussion of Irish affairs in the British legislature."

But the justification of Pitt's Irish policy, or at all events

the strongest apology for it, is that he never regarded the Union as a complete and final settlement of the question. It was but the first step, and was to be followed by the removal of all Catholic disabilities, the abolition of Tithe, and the endowment of the Catholic clergy out of government funds. Lord Rosebery asks the question—"Who will say that, followed up by large, spontaneous, and simultaneous concessions of this kind, the policy of the union might not have been a success?" That question can never be answered, for the tender conscience of George III., stimulated by the treacherous Loughborough, prevented him from violating his Coronation oath by making any concession to the Catholics; and Pitt immediately resigned. In leaving the Irish question we may quote the following words in which Lord Rosebery sums up the action of Pitt:—

It is Pitt's sinister destiny to be judged by the petty fragment of a large policy, which he did not live to carry out: a policy unhappy in execution and result, but which was, it may be fairly maintained, as generous and comprehensive in conception as it was patriotic in motive.

Although Pitt had been in receipt of £10,000 a year during the greater part of his term of office, he found himself on his retirement deeply in debt. He had to sell his country place and to accept a loan of £12,000 from some private friends. He withdrew to Walmer, and did not enter the House of Commons for more than a year, but spent his time in drilling a volunteer corps of 3,000 men which he had raised for the defence of the coast. When war was again declared he returned to active life, and everyone foresaw that Addington, his successor, must soon give place to the former minister. Addington was vain and incompetent: so incompetent as a war-minister that Woronzow remarked—"Si ce ministère dure la Grande Bretagne ne durera pas." Addington, however, was strongly supported by the king, and for some time he hoped to be able to form a coalition with Pitt, and remain in office. He, of whom Canning wrote—

Pitt is to Addington
As London is to Paddington.

could scarcely bring himself to recognise Pitt as his superior. Accordingly, when he did, under the pressure of circumstances,

offer the Premiership to Pitt, and the latter recommended him in return to resume the Speakership, his vanity was so grievously wounded that the negotiations fell through.

Of the second administration of Pitt, which commenced May 15, 1804, and terminated with his death, little need be said. By a curious coincidence, on the same day that Pitt took his seat in the House of Commons as Prime Minister, Napoleon, the First Consul, was proclaimed Emperor of the French. The successful attack upon Melville during the session of 1805, carried by the Speaker's casting vote, weighed heavily upon Pitt, who was already much broken in health. The successes of Napoleon were more than he could bear, and it is said that he was killed by Austerlitz. Lord Rosebery narrates that Pitt, who was at Bath when he received the first account of the battle, hearing the furious gallop of a horse, exclaimed—"That must be a courier, with news for me." Having opened the packet, he said: "Heavy news, indeed!" This shock drove the gout, from which he was suffering, back upon some vital organ, and he sank gradually, until, with the heart-broken words of anguish on his lips—"O, my country! how I leave my country!" he expired January 23, 1806.

These last words express the patriotism which was the passion of his life. It would be impossible to deny that the unselfish service of his country was the main object of his thoughts and desires. Money he seems to have despised, and he lived and died in debt. Titles and decorations were nothing to him. The only reward which the king could bestow upon him at the end of his long administration, was to write a familiar note, commencing, "My dear Pitt." In an age of general licentiousness the life of Pitt was remarkable for its purity. The austerity of his morals was only equalled by the haughty coldness of his manners. His one weakness was for port wine, and it is said, that in his later years he drank to excess. But if so, some excuse may be validly offered on his behalf, inasmuch as he was actually reared on the too seductive fluid. Of his eloquence and intellectual gifts it is unnecessary to speak, and we may conclude in the words of Canning, "He had qualities rare in their separate excellence, and wonderful in their combination."

A BISHOP OF CORK AND THE IRISH AT NANTES

(17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES).

THE erection of monumental stained glass windows in the Parish Church of S. Similien, Nantes, was the occasion, in the year 1887, of enquiries to discover the history and procure the armorial bearings of Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, of Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork, and Cornelius O'Keeffe, Bishop of Limerick. In the course of these enquiries the writer of this article was placed in communication with Canon Delorme, of the Church of S. Donatien, Nantes, and much of the information contained in it was the result of that correspondence, due to the kindness of the Canon and the impulse given to further inquiry arising therefrom. It threw a light on what was not known or remembered in Ireland, and also on the lasting remembrance in France of what was the result of the presence in that country of the exiled prelates and priests of Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and also on the part the education in France had on the future of the clergy of Ireland. Some things may appear in this and perhaps other articles which may not be as he would wish, but considering the wholesale banishment of the clergy, and their being thrown at once in a strange country without means of living and occupation, they are easily pardoned. But on the whole the exiled Irish clergy of the period were a credit to themselves and also to the country which offered them such generous hospitality. I will introduce the subject by a notice of Notre Dame de Miséricorde.

In the ninth century, tradition has it that the northern suburbs of the city of Nantes were infested by the ravages of a monster, crocodile shape, who, dwelling in the dense forest that then occupied that district, devoured many travellers and inhabitants of the city. In terror the people made a vow to the Blessed Virgin, the result of which was that, in a fight of which three chevaliers of the principal families of Nantes were combatants, the monster was killed. One, however, of the chevaliers perished in the fight. The head of the monster was

cut off by the two surviving victors, and the lower jaw was placed in a silver case and kept in the treasury of the Cathedral, where it remained until the great French Revolution, and is mentioned in an inventory at the time of the things taken from thence. The Bishop and principal inhabitants of Nantes were spectators of the conflict from the city walls, and as a result of the vow made a chapel was erected on the spot where the monster was killed to Our Lady, Notre Dame de Miséricorde, or Notre Dame de bon Secours. This chapel existed until it was, with so many other monuments, destroyed during the great Revolution, and its stained glass windows contained the scenes of the encounter of the chevaliers and their victory over the monster. The statue of Notre Dame de Miséricorde was also much venerated in it. The statue was saved from destruction by the pious care of a devoted woman, and after the ruin of the chapel was placed by her in the hands of the Curé of the Parish Church of S. Similien, to which the former chapel belonged.

The "Nantais" had always great devotion to Notre Dame de Miséricorde, and in all their troubles came to her shrine. The exiled Irish, who, on account of its convenience to the southern coasts of Ireland, and the frequent commercial relations between the two countries, had settled down there in large numbers, also had recourse in their troubles to Notre Dame de Misericorde, they appear to have made it their own. The "station" is attributed to an Irish Bishop, and more than one of the rectors of the Parish Church (S. Similien) were Irish.

The people of Nantes have great devotion to the "station" which takes place annually from the Feast of the Ascension until Pentecost to Our Lady de Miséricorde; and it is calculated that from eight to ten thousand people during this period make to the station. Each parish and the several confraternities in the city have their appointed day to perform their devotions during the station. In the year 1887 monumental windows were erected in the Church, and they contain allusions to the part Ireland bore in regard to the devotion by the figure of S. Patrick, patron of Ireland, and the armorial bearings of Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, and Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and Cornelius

O'Keeffe, Bishop of Limerick, whose sojourn at Nantes had relation to the shrine of Notre Dame de Miséricorde in the parish of S. Similien. It is not quite certain which Irish bishop was founder of the station, Dr. René Le Breton de Gaubert, curé of the parish of S. Similien, in pages 37-38 of a manual on the devotion says:—"Un évêque de Hybernîe exilé de son pays, persecuté pour la foi Catholique et réfugié dans cette ville de Nantes, qu'il edifia par les exercices d'une piété exemplaire établit cette station dans la Chapelle dédiée à l'honneur de là Saint Vierge sous le titre de Notre Dame de Miséricorde dans la paroisse de Saint Similien, cet évêque ayant Communiqué ses intentions à Mgr. Gabriel de Beauvau évêque de Nantes, célébra la Saint Messe dans cette Chapelle, s'y rendit tous les jours, depuis l' Ascension jusqu'à la fête de la Pentecôte, accompagné de quelques ecclésiastiques et de plusieurs personnes de Piété, avec qu'il recita des prières analogues aux pieux motifs qui les assemblaient. Plusieurs villes de Royaume et un très grand nombre dans l'univers Chrétien avaient déjà, les uns de confréries, les autres des dévotions semblables à celles-ci ; d'autres des exercices particuliers de piété pour préparer les fidèles a la venue du saint esprit, lorsque ce digne confesseur de la foi entrepit à Nantes cet etablissement, la paroisse de Saint Similien fut honorée de cette faveur par le choix qu'il fit de la Chapelle de Miséricorde."

Dr. Comerford writes from S. Malo to the Nuncio Rinuncini on his arrival from Ireland in March, 1651. He went to reside to Nantes, and died there in March, 1652. His stay being so short it cannot be he who established the station, as mention is made of the bishop who year after year went to the Chapel de Miséricorde. On the contrary, Dr. Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, spent over ten years at Nantes, and during that time assisted Mgr. Gabriel de Beauvau in the performance of Episcopal functions, as appears from the Archives of Evêché at Nantes. Though it is not certain, the time and length of his stay would point him out as the bishop who established the "station," and, also the words of the manual are like the inscription on his tomb:—"Evêque de Hybernîe réfugié." Robert Barry, son of David Barry and Ellen Waters, was born about the year 1588 or 1599 in the parish of Brittway, diocese of Cloyne.

His father is styled "*Dominus Ardiae*" and was of the Barrymore family. His mother's family was also one of the oldest and much respected in the city of Cork. Having learned classics at home, Robert was sent to Bordeaux at an early age, when he perfected himself in humanities and followed the course of Philosophy in the schools of the Jesuit Fathers; after a short course of Theology he was ordained priest about the year 1612 or 1613. On his return to Ireland he was named chaplain to Ellen Barry, of Buttevant, Countess of Ormond, and accompanied her to England on the occasion of her marriage with Sir Thomas Somerset, third son of the Earl of Worcester. In recommending Robert to the Holy See for the Bishopric of Cork and Cloyne, Rinuncini, the Nuncio says "that he laboured much for the Faith in England, Dublin, and in other missions." Soon after this he went to Paris and there spent three years in perfecting himself in following the course of theology at Sorbonne, and coming again to Bordeaux was made Doctor of Theology. Before his return to Ireland he made a tour through Italy and spent two years in Rome; was created Prothonotary apostolic in December, 1619—Vicar apostolic of Ross, in May, 1620, and Abbot in Commendam "*de choro S. Benedicti*," Middleton, by Pope Paul V., who sent him to his new labours furnished with special faculties suited to the exigencies of the times. He displayed much zeal in the government of the diocese under his care. By his preaching and writings he converted those even, in other parts, who were estranged from the church, strengthened the wavering and reconciled those who were at enmity, and during the space of thirty-six years laboured much in the Ministry. His lot was cast in troubled times. On account of his great prudence and learning he was selected by the "Confederate Council" to treat with Ormond at Jigginstown. He was also of the number sent by the Confederates to England to gain the King to the Confederate side, and also to France to notify to the Queen the justice of their cause. In all difficulties he was had recourse to as an oracle. On the death of William Terry, Bishop of Cork, he was nominated to his place and consecrated by the Nuncio, at Waterford, in 1648, probably in the month of April. De Burgo mentions that the Ormond party were anxious to have him named to the less important See of Ross,

of which there was question before the death of William Terry, and another more favourable to their own appointed Bishop of the more important See of Cork and Cloyne, but were defeated by the action of the Nuncio, who wrote strongly in favour of Dr. Barry's appointment. Immediately after his consecration Dr. Barry returned to his diocese, and as the city of Cork was in the enemy's power he held a synod of his clergy in Macroom, where he gave instructions suited to the troubled state of the times, and restored by severe disciplinary laws what religion had suffered. He visited the parishes, and administered, to those who had not the opportunity of receiving it for years, the sacrament of confirmation, reconciled those who were at enmity, and preached in season and out of season the word of God. He ceased not to discharge his episcopal duties in his diocese until he was summoned by the Nuncio to Kilkenny, and stood firmly by him on the occasion of his excommunication of the supreme council. His zeal for the splendour of Catholic worship which he wished to see restored, made him oppose the truce made with the enemy. In writing and disputations Dr. Barry defended the cause of the Nuncio. His name is signed to the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Nuncio, and posted on the gates of the Cathedral of Kilkenny. After the departure of the Nuncio he had to take to flight and conceal himself. Though Cromwell permitted many ecclesiastics to leave the country, still knowing how great a defender of the faith was Dr. Barry, he held out no hopes to him, but determined to seize him and treat him as he did Dr. Mac Egan, Bishop of Ross, his successor in that See whom his Lieutenant hanged at Carrig-a-Drohid. Whereupon the good prelate hid himself in woods and marshes, suffered hunger and cold, and for a long time was obliged to remain at night without shelter of a roof in his hiding places until a friendly ship brought him to Brittany. From thence he governed his own diocese by letters to vicars, with whom he frequently corresponded, and was also entrusted by the Nuncio to absolve from censures those who had incurred them. At length, after an illness of three months, borne with Christian fortitude, he died at Nantes at three o'clock on the morning of Friday, 7th July, 1662. Beloved by all, and

lamented in death, he was interred with much pomp, and his obsequies were attended by people of all classes in the Cathedral at Nantes. His friend Dr. Comerford, Bishop of Waterford, pre-deceased him by nine years, and his remains were found incorrupt on the occasion of the interment of Dr. Barry in the same vault. His tomb contained the following inscription :—

Messire Robert (Barry) par la grace de Dieu et du Saint Siège Apostolique, évêque de Cork (et de Cloyne) en Hybernie, réfugié a Nantes par la persécution des hérétiques en Angleterre lequell Morut le 7 Juillet 1662.

The words of the inscription with the coincidence of the time of Monsig. Gabriel de Beauvau, and those of the manual of N. D. de Miséricorde, would make it conclusive that Dr. Barry was the founder of the station.

Most likely Dr. Barry was its originator ; but certainly the most favourite devotion in the city of Nantes owes its extension to some Irish Bishop about the same time. The first notice we find of the Irish at Nantes is not in keeping with the hospitality they afterwards received in that city.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century many Portuguese, driven by political troubles from their country, settled at Nantes, and the inhabitants, jealous of their presence as interfering with their trade, wished to expel them from their midst. But in their appeal to the King, Henry IV., permission was given them to continue to reside at Nantes. The Irish, who were driven from their own country by the persecution of Elizabeth, were encouraged by this tolerance to the Portuguese to settle at Nantes. Being without protection, the municipality determined to get rid of them, that they might not be a burden to the city. For this purpose eight or nine hundred crowns were allocated for their embarkation. When the unhappy Irish became aware of the intentions of the municipality, they dispersed on their own account. Notwithstanding this, subsequently pity, on account of the persecution they suffered for their Faith, gained them the sympathy of the people of Nantes, and when the penal laws were enforced with exceeding vigour, and the Catholic Church persecuted with a hate perhaps not excelled

in the annals of history, the Irish clergy of all classes flocked there, and received a warm welcome. Many Irish families of position also settled down there in commercial pursuits, and the relations hence arising made Nantes easy of access to the south coast of Ireland, and the remote harbours afforded an opportunity of secret means of transport to the Irish students to obtain in France and Spain the education denied them under severe penalties at home.

IRISH SEMINARY AT NANTES.

The Most Rev. Dr. Troy, in a "relatio status" of the Diocese of Dublin, presented to the sacred congregation of the propaganda in the year 1802, mentions the necessity of the College of Maynooth for the education of the clergy in Ireland on account of the loss of the foreign colleges subsequent to the French Revolution. In these colleges his Grace mentions that 500 students were educated in France. There were two houses in Paris, one for priests, the other for ecclesiastical students, in both of which the Collège des Lombards, and the Collège des Irlandais, one hundred and fifty students received each year their support and education. One college at Nantes contained about one hundred; Bordeaux forty; and about as many at Douai. Specil Oss. Vol. 3. Page 632.

Although not the earliest established in the order of time, the Irish college at Nantes became one of the most important of the many institutions of the kind for supplying the wants of the Irish Church, as is seen from the above statement that in point of number it ranked immediately after that of Paris. The first *locale* of the Irish college was in a house, not suited for the purposes of a college, in the Rue de la Paume, or Chapeau rouge. In 1694 the Dominican nuns of S. Catherine who were established in the "Maison de la Touche," belonging to the bishop, and the Religious of "Mercy of the Hermitage" in the Route de Rennes, were suppressed, as they were not authorised by letters patent. Monsigneur Jean Francois de Beauvau, Bishop of Nantes, gave to the community of Irish priests the house which the nuns of S. Catherine

occupied. It was situated in Rue Voltaire, at the end of it; and, at the right hand side, opposite was the "Manoir de la Touche." The buildings of the former "Manoir," and subsequently the convent of Dominican nuns, were old, and insufficient for the demands of the institution; therefore in 1727-1728 the college which existed down to a recent period was built.

The following extract from the work of the Abbé Grégoire, entitled, "État du Diocèse de Nantes," in 1790, under the title "Séminaire d'Irlande," gives an account of the college which is interesting. Page 35.

"The Dominican nuns of S. Catherine were established in 'la Maison de la Touche,' and made use of the Chapel of S. Gabriel, near the Grands-Capucins, in the parish of S. Nicholas. They were suppressed by royal edict, and their house was given to the Irish priests for the instruction of the clergy of the country."

Before "La Touche" was given them, the Irish occupied an old convent in La rue du Chapeau-Rouge (1690-1695). The present seminary was built at the expense of the Catholics of Ireland from 1727-1728. The chapel was blessed and, like the former, dedicated to S. Gabriel by Mgr. de Beauvau in 1695. The "House" is composed of a "Salle de Conseil," class halls of theology and philosophy, a refectory containing ten large tables, four rooms for professors, and from 72 to 80 cells for students.

Sir James Ware, "Antiquities of Ireland," vol. II., p. 255, thus describes the Irish College at Nantes. Dublin, 1761.

At Nantes, in France, is a seminary for Irish secular priests, established about the year 1680, by the consent of Ægidius de Beauvau, Bishop of Nantes, obtained by the intercession of Doctor Ambroso Madden, of the Diocese of Clonfert, and Doctor Edward Ionery of the Diocese of Waterford. They pay rent for the house inhabited by them ever since the year 1697, and have no fixed endowment, but live chiefly by charity. The house at present affords lodgings for thirty-five priests, received indifferently from all the provinces of Ireland, who live in community, and have lectures and repetitions like other communities. The Chappel belonging to it is under the convocation of S. Gabriel the Archangel, whose figure, in the shape of a young man with wings, is over the high Altar.

The letters patent of the College are dated from Fontainebleau, year 1765, and are as follows :—

LETTRES PATENTES CONFIRMATIVES DU SEMINAIRE DES
PRESTRES IRLANDOIS DE LA VILLE DE NANTES.

Registre 41, de 1766—1769, Archives du Parlement.

Louis, par la grâce de Dieu roy de France et de Navarre a tous presens et a venir salut. Notre très cher et bien amié le Père Daniel Byrne prestre superieur du séminaire irlandois de la ville de Nantes nous a fait représenter que le feu roy Louis 14 notre très honorés siegneur et vizaieul auroit autorisé l'establissement des prestres irlandois dans plusieurs villes de nostre royaume et leur auroit donné des maisons et defferens bien fonds pour pouvoir s'y soutenir ; que plusieurs prestres de la même maison persecutés dans leur pais a cause de la religion Catholique si seroient réfugiés a Nantes en l'année 1695 et auroient été reçus par les evesques de cette ville dans une maison nommée bois de la Touche et dependante de l'évêché de Nantes, que la dite maison ou ces prestres ont vescu d'abord en communauté a été erigé ensuite en seminaire ou ils sont actuellemente près de soixante, que leurs principales fonctions consistent dans la desserte de plusieurs paroisses où ils exercent avec beaucoup de zèle les fonctions du S. Ministère, qu'ils sont encore employés en qualité d'aumosniers dans les hopiteaux, sur nos vaisaux, sur ceux de la compagnie des Indes, et sur les navires marchands. Mais comme leur etablissement n'a pas été par nous encore autorisée, et que par cette raison il n'a pas jusqu'a présent estre pourvu de la dotation, l'exposant nous a très humblement fait supplier de vouloir bien approuver et confirmer par lettres patentes le dit seminaire, ensemble de lui permettre de recevoir et d'acquérir, par dons, legs et donations, et par nos mêmes lettres autoriser l'evesque de Nantes à procéder suivant les regles et formes canoniques apres tout fois de decéz de l'exposant a la supression du titre du prieuré de St. Crispin en bas Anjou, diocese de Nantes, dont le dit exposant est actuellement pourvu, pour les fruits et revenus dudit prieuré estre mis a perpétuité au profit du séminaire ; permettre en outre audit sieur evesque de Nantes de faire tel reglement qu'il jugera convenable tout pour le spirituel, que pour le temporel dudit seminaire ou la Philosophie de même que la Theologie, pourra estre enseignée par des professeurs de la nation irlandaise attendu l'eloignement du college et du seminaire du diocèse ; accorder à cet effet aux etudiants la faculté de prendre leurs degrés dans l'université de Nantes en subissant les examens et soutenant les thèses ordinaires, et du surplus ordonner que le dit seminaire jouirra à l'avenir des mêmes privileges dont jouissons dans notre royaume les etablissements de même nature ; a ces causes après nous estre fait informer plus particulièrement de l'utilite dudit seminaire en la de ville de Nantes, de l'avis de notre conseil et de notre grâce speciale pleine puissance et antorité royale. Nous avons approuvé et confirmés et par ces presentes

signées de notre main approuvons et confirmons ledit seminaire des prestres irlandois établi en ladite ville de Nantes et aussi lui permettons de recevoir et d'acquérir par dons legs et donations à la charge par les prestres du seminaire de se conformer aux dispositions de nostre édit du mois d'Août 1749 et pour assurer and. établissement partie de la dotation autorisons notre aimé et feal conseiller en nos conseils le sieur evesque de Nantes à proceder suivant les régles et formes canoniques à la supression du titre du prieurié de Saint Crispin en bas Anjou dioceze de Nantes après le decez dud. sieur Byrne exposant, qui en est actuellement pourvu pour les fruits et revenus dudit prieurié être mis a perpétuité au profit dudit seminaire permettons en outre au dit sieur évêque de Nantes de faire tel reglement qu'il jugera convenable tant pour le spirituel que pour le temporel dudit seminaire, ou la philosophie de même que la theologie pourra estre enseignée par des professeurs de la nation irlandoise; accordons a cet effet aux etudians la faculté de prendre leur degrés dans l'université de Nantes en subissant les examens et soutenant les thèse ordinaire sans toutefois que vos presentes lettres puissent prejudicier ni porter atteinte aux droits des evesques de Nantes et a ceux de l'université de la dite ville et a ceux des recteurs de la paroisse de S. Nicolas de Nantes sur la territoire de laquelle le dit seminaire est situé, Voulons au surplus que le dit seminaire jouisse à l'avenir des mêmes privileges dont les autres seminaires de notre royaume ont droit et continue de jouir. Sy donnons commandement à nos amés et feaux conseillers les gens devant notre cour de parlement à Rennes et à tous autres nos officiers et justiciéres qu'il appartiendra que les dites lettres ils ayant a faire registrer et du contenu en Icele jouir les prestre dudit seminaire irlandois de Nantes, pleinement, paisiblement et perpetuellement cessant et faisant cessers tous troubles et empêchemens—et unobstant toutes choses a se contrarier car tel est nôtre plaisir: et afin que ce soit choses ferme et stable a toujours nous avons fait mettre notre *sel* a ces dittes présentes. Donné à fontainebleau l'an de grace 1765 et de notre regne le 5/e Signé Louis—et sur le reply...par le roy. Phelippeaux.

UNIVERSITY OF NANTES.

In the archives of the department at Nantes there are papers regarding the University. As early as 1764 there was question of removing the University to Rennes, the capital of Brittany. The question was afterwards agitated and was not finally finished until the Revolution, when it was transferred completely to Rennes in 1778. Extract "of the motives which the University of Nantes presents to Monseigneur le Garde des Sceaux and to Monseigneur du Conseil du Roi to obtain the arguments of its privileges, and the conformation which it opposes to its translation to Rennes."

Page 6--8. And the Irish priests who come to seek in France the lights and the degrees (academic) necessary for them for the instruction of the Catholics, whom God in His mercy has preserved in the Faith, in a kingdom which has renounced the Faith of the Church, will the Irish find at Rennes the means to continue their studies? The piety of our kings has opened to them an asylum in France, a means to perpetuate the succession of pastors, the teaching of the Catholic Faith. Louis XIV. granted them at Nantes a house, afterwards erected into a seminary by letters patents in the year 1765; registered in Parliament in August, 1766, and in the Chamber of Counts, the 24th March, 1767. They number, in the seminary, one hundred. The number and wealth of the inhabitants who have need of Masses in the country is their only resource; it furnishes the means of subsistence to the men who have not preserved of their patrimony but the Faith of their Fathers; the University, zealous to forward the pious intentions of the Prince, admits them gratis to degrees; many of them carry back to their country with pure doctrine, talents which raise them to the government of dioceses and parishes; with zeal and the lights capable to console the Faith of their countrymen and sustain it against persecution. It is doubtless worthy of the piety of the King to preserve an establishment which costs so little, so honourable to France, which was always the asylum of the afflicted, and to which the Faith may owe one day a glorious triumph over error in Ireland. But is it not evident that the destruction of this establishment the most convenient for the Irish, and perhaps the most flourishing they have in France, is threatened by the removal of the University to Rennes? (Imprimeri de la veuve d'audré Luevo Imprimeur-Librairie suré de l'Université, 1778.)

D'Argentre Histoire de Bretagne, *apropos* of the University of Nantes. It, the University, is composed of five faculties, to wit Theology, Law, canon and civil, Medicine and Arts. By order of the Council of State, in the year 1735, the faculty of law was transferred to Rennes, where it is now. There have been attempts made recently to transfer thence, also the other faculties established to Rennes, but without success. In the Memorial made by the Municipality of Nantes and the University in the year 1764, the community of the town of Nantes, and the University of the town, to hinder the execution of this project, it was stated that it was desired rather its destruction than simple translation of an Establishment which was erected for the city, which suits it more than any other town of the province for the convenience of the student, for its good situation, the salubrity of the climate, the number of its inhabitants, all which render it the largest in

the Province as it is the most ancient. The same author mentioning the religious communities at Nantes in the eighteenth century.

The Irish Priests in 1790, at the "Fosse" above the general hospital called "Sanitat" in 1669, Louis XIV. submitted the University of Nantes to a minute inspection. The King's delegate was received the 4th of June, 1669, at the entrance of St. Clement's College by the superior prefect, &c. The Principal made his report, and added that the population of the College, entirely composed of externs, came to eleven or twelve hundred students; they contributed 110 to theology. Some from the Comté Nantais et Basse Bretagne, others from Poitou, from Normandy and even from Ireland, there were five Irish students.

Léon Maitre, *L'Instruction Publique*, page 172.

From the same, page 249 :—

In 1678 the Irish priests, driven from their country, came to establish at Nantes in the old mansion "de la Touche," a community which prospered and increased. It formed its own subjects, without being obliged to send them to the University lectures. Louis XIV., at their request, erected the "House" into a seminary in 1765. His Letters Patents granted that theology and philosophy should be taught by Irish professors, and besides that the students could take degrees in the University. Summoned to deliberate on their new creation, the University assembled in public sitting the 20th March, 1766, consented to aggregate the schools of the Irish College, on conditions that would regulate their relations.

Extract from "Public instruction in the towns and country of the Comté Nantais before 1789," by Léon Maitre, page 167, "College de S. Clement," continuation :—

Less could not be done in favour of a college to which was granted the exclusive monopoly of secondary education, especially after having refused all those who presented themselves to open schools. In the seventeenth as well as in the sixteenth century appeared bold individuals who attempted, despite the prohibition often repeated of the courts of justice and of the faculty of arts, to erect chair against chair, claiming with obstinacy that right to instruct. Richard Gybbon, an Irishman, after opening a course of philosophy, was cited by the chief beadle to appear before the rector and doctors in meeting, and was forbidden on the 30th November, 1642, to continue his lessons. He continued them. Then the procureur-général of the University cited him before the Provost of Nantes, judge guardian of the privileges of the University, who imposed silence on him on the 18th April, 1643.

After an interval of some years, R. Gybbon resumed his lessons in company with another Irishman, Patrick Maulrony, and both, together, set themselves to work in forming classes in grammer, rhetoric, and philosophy. As they wanted scholars they received all those who came to them, without inquiry into their antecedents, and admitted freely to the classes of rhetoric and philosophy those even who had just left the fourth class. In their school there was no severe punishment; hence it became the refuge of badly conducted scholars from S. Clements. The young rascals, the villains, and ill-conducted came there, sure of their independence. The consequence was that the ill-disposed scholars of the Oratorians neglected study, since they were sure to be received by the Irishmen; they became insolent to their masters, were no longer afraid of chastisement, and on the first threat of it left the College. With their new masters they were retired as it were in a citadel; they took vengeance on their former rulers in coming to create uproar or to contaminate the good scholars. If a rascal from the Oratory wished to sow disorder in the house, he gave notice to the insubordinates at the Irish establishment, and all, armed with swords and sticks, came to cause trouble in the classes. It was impossible to tolerate such annoyances. In a general assembly of the University on the 7th March, 1649, the Irish were forbidden to continue their lessons. Far from taking notice of this decree, the recalcitrants added to their number another master, the "Sieur. Benoit." This time the Procurator-general of the University laid their disobedience before the Judge Provost, who condemned by threatening them with imprisonment on the 10th January, 1650. Benoit only submitted; his colleagues Gybbon and Maulrony made no submission, they pretended to justify their conduct by shewing a permission signed by three Doctors of Theology and diplomas of Masters of Art. They were told that the Theologians had no power to grant them such authorisation, and that the Masters of Arts could only teach in the chairs of the colleges of S. John and S. Clement. It was thought that this time at least these two implacable warriors would lay down their arms; but vain hope. There still exists three sentences of condemnation issued against them, one 16th March 1650, from the Provost, ordering them

to quit the city and its environs within a month under penalty of expulsion as disturbers of the public peace ; another from the Bishop, as Chancellor and Judge and apostolic conservator of the privileges of the University, dated 8th of July following forbidding them to hold public or private schools in the city of Nantes. In the last place a third, 21st July, 1659, pronounced by the solemn sitting of the Provost, commanding them to quit the city immediately under penalty of being expelled at their expense, there remained now for them but to have recourse to the supreme jurisdiction of Parliament which was not more favourable to them than the judges of Nantes.

In another number I hope to give the authorisation of the University to the establishment of the College, and also the permission of the municipality, and other matter which reflects much more credit on the Irish than the above incident of Messrs. Gybbon and Maulrony.

PATRICK HURLEY, P.P.

THEISM TREATED AS A SCIENTIFIC HYPOTHESIS.

"Lo que no explique la ciencia de Dios no lo explicará de seguro la vana ciencia de los hombres. Torrentes de claridad surgen de este abismo insondable que, derramándose por todos los espacios y reflejándose en todos los horizontes, de tal manera penetran el mundo visible y el invisible, lo material y lo espiritual, el orden de los hechos y el de las ideas, que no hay cuestión, problema ó dificultad que no tenga su solución á la luz de la ciencia divina." Vide "*Harmonía entre la ciencia y la Fe*" por P. M. Mir—p. 16.

WHEN atheism is found among the poor and illiterate, its rise may generally be traced to simple carelessness, neglect and indifference, engendered by the sad condition of their lives, so occupied in toil and fatigue as to leave little opportunity for the practices of religion. Such unfortunate creatures are often the unresisting victims of circumstances, and are in no sense prepared to give an intelligible account of their deplorable mental condition.

With the educated the case is wholly different. An educated man is seldom content to express even a passing opinion, unless he can show some plausible ground in support of it; far less will he openly profess and maintain momentous religious or irreligious convictions, unless he can bolster them up with at least some show of argument. Passion and pride may indeed allure him away from the straight path of religious truth, but the intellect which always demands a reason for every human act, will press him so closely and unsparingly that in sheer self-defence, he will be forced either to find, or else to invent some apology of an argument for the faith that is in him. Even an infidel deems himself a reasonable being. He will consequently know no rest until he can persuade himself by quibble or sophism that his conduct is in conformity with the dictates of sound reason.

If we question the typical highly-cultured Agnostic of the nineteenth century, we shall find that he will almost invariably seek to justify his absence of faith on one of two grounds. Either he will contend that the only object with which the human mind is capable of dealing is the intelligible,*

* Positivism deals only with "what is accessible to experience." It neither affirms nor denies supernatural truths, but like Agnosticism, disposes of all such questions with the trite remark:—"The invisible is not in my domain."

and that it must at once reject the incomprehensible and the mysterious—and all religion involves mystery; or else, if he do not quarrel with the incomprehensible on its own account, he will quarrel with the arguments on which it is based, and pronounce them insufficient and unsound. In fact he will candidly confess that they do not satisfy him, and are such as cannot approve themselves to any intelligent being.

The first plea we have already considered elsewhere.* In the present inquiry we will occupy ourselves exclusively with the second.

We are now contemplating the case of an educated man, who professes himself ready and willing to accept any doctrine whatsoever, provided that it rests upon sufficient evidence, but who strongly denies that there is sufficient evidence for belief in a God or in an invisible world. In fact, when pressed, he will state and explain his position in some such words as the following: "Of course I admit the incomprehensible when it is supported by solid proof. In fact I am perfectly well aware that mysteries without number do really exist in the physical world around me, and these I unhesitatingly accept without demur; but be kind enough to observe, I accept them only because they are supported by the most unimpeachable and irresistible evidence—and my contention is that your dogmas and articles of faith are wholly deficient in this respect. The difference may be best illustrated by an example. I take a seed. I place it in the ground. It comes up a flower. Now I acknowledge that this is a mystery. I don't profess to offer an exhaustive explanation of why and how this simple, shapeless particle of unconscious matter can, in its dark and gloomy workshop underground, weave the various elements of earth, air, and water into a damask rose or a blushing pimpernel. The whole process, besides being most curious and interesting, is also most mysterious. I grant all that, and yet I most readily admit the fact, in spite of the mystery in which it is shrouded. But why? Well, for a reason that is utterly wanting when I come to deal with the dogmas of faith. I believe because I can watch the whole process from beginning to end; because I have ocular demonstration of its truth. In

* See "Faith and Folly," and "Faith and Reason" in DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1889, and July, 1889.

fact, I cannot help believing it, since I can witness each stage of the development with my own eyes, and am at perfect liberty if dissatisfied with the first or second experiment, to repeat the process as frequently as ever I please. With the dogmas of faith it is quite otherwise. When I am asked to accept any tenet of Christianity, say for example the efficacy of Baptism no such evidence is afforded me. You do not hesitate to claim my prompt acceptance of this mystery—a mystery immeasurably more marvellous than any to be met with in the whole realm of science—nevertheless you accompany your astounding demand with no proofs, such as scientists offer when proposing any of their doctrines. For instance, you gravely assure me that a little water, accompanied by a few simple words, effaces sin in the soul: you tell me that the water and the words work instantly, and on an immaterial substance (which they certainly cannot touch or come in contact with) changes beyond the power of words to describe; changes, mark you, compared to which the transformation of an acorn into an oak, or a chrysalis into a butterfly, is but trifling and insignificant! It is surely not unreasonable to ask for sound and unequivocal proofs. You call me 'incredulous and prejudiced,' but, in truth I am neither. When you inform me of the marvels of the Christian creed, I don't straight-away deny your statements, I merely hold my judgment in suspense till I hear your arguments, precisely as I would in any matter of science. All I request is that you should substantiate what you so boldly affirm, and make good your assertions. Would you have me believe in the changes wrought on the soul in Baptism? Then let me, as in the case of the developing seed, gaze upon the result and verify the truth with my eyes. I am quite open to receive your assurances, but before actually doing so, you must offer me evidence in support of your doctrine equivalent to that which I offer you in support of mine. Give me that and I promise—mystery or no mystery—to embrace your teaching readily and gladly. You cannot surely expect me to make an act of faith on any other grounds; and least of all upon the mere *ipse dixit* of any mere man."

Such is the general line of defence adopted by all classes of Agnostics and Positivists. They profess to follow scientific

methods, and are unwilling to apply to theology or religion any line of argument, save such as they have been accustomed to employ in physical research.

We might, of course, rejoin that this is most unreasonable: that the world of spirit and the world of matter are wholly distinct; and that methods suitable to material things will be quite unsuitable to immaterial. A telescope will reveal the secrets of the heavens, but it will not help us to read the secrets of the heart; a microscope will lay bare the innermost texture of plants and vegetables, but it will throw no light on the mysteries of mental physiology; because the first is material, and the second spiritual. We might thus close the discussion at this point with a polite request that our opponents would be sensible enough to cease striving either to see with their ears, or to hear with their eyes. But let us rather push our investigations a step further.

It is not true that all facts, even of science, are proved by ocular demonstration, or by an appeal to the senses. Many doctrines most firmly believed and most readily accepted by scientists are mere inductions. And if the process of induction is sufficient and satisfactory in the case of scientific truth, it must be equally sufficient and satisfactory (where applicable) in the case of religious truth. Let us then attempt to establish according to strictly scientific methods, the general truth of a supernatural state, and the existence of God and of a future life. That we may follow the methods of science the more accurately, we will begin by selecting some well known truth of physics, and placing it before us, see how that has come to be acknowledged, and on what basis precisely it rests. We will then proceed to apply the same process of reasoning to the supernatural. In other words we will speak to scientific men, not in the ordinary language of theology, but in their own language, and see if we can make ourselves more intelligible.

If we put before us all that science teaches, and accepts without hesitation, and ask, "on what does the certainty of these doctrines rest?" we shall find that in many instances it rests on arguments which may just as fairly and even far more cogently be applied in vindication of fundamental religious truths.

Take as a familiar instance the law of Gravitation—Does

the whole educated world accept the law? Undoubtedly. Do scientific men firmly believe in it, and acknowledge it? Do they take it for granted in their books and treatises, and lectures? Of course they do. If then we can prove the existence of the supernatural in a similar way to this, they must, if consistent, believe it also. It is worth examining. Firstly we must observe, that this epoch-making law was not always known even to the learned. It is, comparatively speaking, a modern discovery; for, though Anaxagoras is said to have suspected it five hundred years before Christ, the principle had not been explained, nor thrown into anything like a scientific form, till Sir Isaac Newton shed the light of his genius upon it in the seventeenth century. And how did he arrive at so momentous a truth?

He, like thousands before him, was a devoted and vigilant student of nature. He, as others, was struck by the perpetual movements observable throughout creation. He watched the ripe fruit detach itself from its parent stem and fall to the ground. He observed the arrow, shot into the air, return to earth. He found that the waters of rivers, brooks and torrents were ever hastening to a lower and lower level, till at last they emptied themselves into the sea. These phenomena set him thinking. How, he asked himself, are we to account for these innumerable movements in earth and sea and sky? He cast about for some simple law lying at the back of all these particular facts, by which they might be explained. Various solutions probably suggested themselves to his mind. At last after much thought and observation he hit upon the law, now known as "the Law of Gravity," and laid down the principles now so familiar to every student of Physics, viz:—

1. All masses of matter attract one another.
2. The force of attraction is *directly* proportional to the quantity of matter contained in each mass, and
3. *Inversely* proportional to the squares of their distances from each other.

In setting down these three principles he defined and proclaimed, like some hoary seer of antiquity, an article of scientific faith. And men embraced the new doctrine. They

believed Newton's word, and they believe it still. And the learned and the wise (whether observers or experimentalists) believe it, if possible, even more strongly and firmly than the simple and the inexperienced. How are we to account for the hold that this truth has gained on the public mind? Why was this doctrine, thus suddenly sprung upon the world, so enthusiastically welcomed? What *motiva credibilitatis* had Sir I. Newton to offer in support of this invisible and mysterious agency? Had he seen it? Had he thrown it into the retort and forced it to declare itself? Had he been able to submit it to any chemical test or analysis? No! he had nothing more to show for its truth, than that which reason and sound sense offer in support of the Spiritual and the Supernatural—yet the mysterious law of gravity is admitted by the Atheist and Agnostic, the Sceptic and Positivist, while the supernatural is denied.

We may profitably examine this point, and learn a lesson of applied logic. In determining whether Newton's theory should be accepted or not, men merely asked themselves, will it satisfactorily explain what we observe going on in nature? Is it, in a word, a working Hypothesis? They began by laying down the canon, "If this principle is true, it must explain and account for all the general phenomena of inorganic motion." But they did not stop here. They went indeed a good deal further, and argued conversely:—"If this principle accounts for and explains all the phenomena of inorganic motion, it must be true."

They set to work to apply the three great laws of Gravity to the various cases coming before them, and were satisfied with the results. Time rolled on. The observations of one man were supplemented by the observations of hundreds of thousands. At home and abroad, on land and sea, year by year, and century by century, these laws promulgated by Newton were found capable of explaining, the course of the stars, the velocity of falling bodies, the curve of projectiles, the arc described by a horizontal water-jet, the motion of the tides, the descent of glaciers, and in a word all phenomena of inanimate motion. The new law supplied a connected and consistent interpretation of known facts. That was enough.

The discoverer became a hero, and was regarded as a genius, and the whole scientific world cried out without one discordant note, "Credo!"

That such effects might possibly be produced by other causes mattered not at all. Whether they might or not, it was quite clear that they might be explained by this. That was was enough. It was all men asked. The Pope of the scientific world, Sir I. Newton, had fulminated his decree, and every head bowed to the decision.

Far be it from us to quarrel with such scientific faith—for it is most reasonable. The precise point of our complaint is, that men who believe the laws Gravity on such grounds, should deem it unreasonable of us to believe, *on exactly parallel and similar grounds*, the teaching of Faith regarding a world beyond the grave, and the final rendering to each man according to his works.

The truth of the theory of attraction rests (1) on its being required in order to account for certain well-established facts, and (2) on its power to explain such facts in a rational and satisfactory way. Thus: An apple falls to the ground. This is the observed fact. How shall we interpret the phenomenon? Why should an apple and the earth seek to meet? By virtue of what force, or law? We start ignorant of the cause, but we are not content to leave the question unsolved. We therefore set to work proposing first one cause and then another—as a locksmith might try a lock with various keys—until at last we can hit upon some theory that will unlock the mystery, and solve every known instance of falling bodies. This found we are content to accept it. Its very fitness to interpret the innumerable observations and experiments of enquirers is its best claim upon our acceptance. The ready answer it affords to each successive difficulty is the best credential it can show, and if no rival theory exist displaying similar credentials it will be accepted and held as certain. The practice of admitting and acting upon theories on such grounds, and on such grounds *alone*, is common to all scientists when dealing with the material or physical world. It is only when such a practice necessitates belief in a Supreme Law Giver and in a future life, that they refuse to apply their own well recognised principle and begin to act inconsistently.

It is the famous anti-Christian Haeckel himself who lays down the following significative rule for the guidance of his fellow scientists :—

“According to the general principle observed in all natural sciences, we must accept and retain for the explanation of phenomena any theory, which, though it has only a feeble basis, is compatible with the actual facts—until it is replaced by a better.”

The principle here laid down as an axiom, by such a violent opponent of all religion as Haeckel, we may surely employ in support of theism without exciting suspicion that we are applying to an interested source for our weapons of defence. Yet, the application of this very principle, so satisfactorily employed in every department of physical research, is all that is needed to convince an unprejudiced and impartial enquirer of the great fundamental truths of religion. In science, the theory of gravitation is accepted because it explains the motions of the physical universe; in religion, the theory (for so we must speak of it here) of God and His providence is accepted, because it explains the motions of the psychical universe, or in other words, the moral and religious characteristics of man. The laws of attraction are no longer regarded as matters of doubt for the simple reason that they explain natural phenomena; so too the main features of the Christian creed should no longer be regarded as matters of doubt for the equally simple, and equally cogent reason, that they explain, account for, and unravel the otherwise hopelessly entangled web of human life.

Given an omnipotent, an omniscient, and an infinitely perfect God; together with the doctrine of sin; its atonement; and a future life, with its rewards and punishments; and we have an intelligible and satisfying account of what, upon any other hypothesis, must ever remain an insoluble mystery. In a word, the theory of God's existence does for the spiritual world exactly what the theory of gravitation does for the physical world; *i.e.*, it affords a ready solution to a riddle otherwise impossible to read. Hence, as reasonable beings, we are constrained to acknowledge the postulates of Faith in

the one case, just precisely as we are constrained to acknowledge the postulates of science in the other.

Christianity is true. A future life is a reality, not a dream. Heaven and hell and immortality are stern unalterable facts. Why? For this reason (even were there no other), because they must be postulated as the only adequate means of accounting for the actual and observable phenomena of human life. They are as indispensable for the due explanation of the mysteries in the social and psychological orders, as the laws of gravity are indispensable for the due explanation of the mysteries in the physical and material order.

Let us elucidate our meaning and enforce the truth of our contention by a few illustrations. Thus, *e.g.* :—

We must postulate the existence of God; for how else can we explain the fact that during all past ages, every tribe and people have believed in a God? How account for the historical truth that no nation, however rude and barbarous, or however civilized and cultured, has ever yet been found without some idea of a Supreme Being. Men's material senses may indeed lead them into erroneous conclusions, as when they thought the sun moved round the earth; but where it is not the external senses, but the intimate voice of man's innermost nature that speaks, its verdict pronounced by the entire race never is, and never can be false.

When all nations confess a God, they confess what is not an object of sense at all, but an object of inward consciousness; there is, therefore, no opportunity for sense to deceive them. They do but proclaim the silent convictions of their hearts and enunciate their inward perception of the essential relation of dependence in which they stand, as creatures towards an infinite Creator. Admit the existence of God and we have a simple clear account of the phenomenon, but deny His existence and in vain shall we seek any satisfactory solution to this startling yet undeniable fact.

So again we need the religious postulate to account for the facts of the moral conscience. As Newton asked, how comes the apple to be drawn towards the earth, so we ask, how comes conscience to be drawn towards truth and justice? The latter phenomenon demands a cause as peremptorily as the former. Whence comes that marvellous witness to virtue and honesty,

which is as unmistakable as the faculty of seeing or hearing? * Why do we feel instinctively and irresistibly that (apart from all considerations of interest, pleasure, or utility) certain acts and lines of conduct are good, and certain others intrinsically bad? So unmistakably bad indeed that nothing can persuade us that they are good. So clearly contrary to justice that all the force of desire, all the violence and impetuosity of passion, and all the greed of gain or lust of pleasure are powerless to disguise from us their true character, or to cover them with any veil thick enough to hide their moral deformity from our eyes. Even when we are over-ruled by the vehemence of temptation and basely succumb to it, it is not the intellect but the will that yields. While the hand is yet red with innocent blood, and the passionate impulse still thirsts for vengeance, conscience does not cease to condemn and denounce the crime. Who will account for such an universally observed fact† except on the theory of an Omnipotent Ruler who has thus impressed His will on the hearts of his creatures? It is the simplest and most satisfactory theory, and the theory longest in possession, so that even on Haeckel's showing it should be preferred to the preposterous accounts which have been proposed as a substitute in modern times.

Consider further that conscience not merely distinguishes right from wrong, and points out to all the nobler and the better way, but that it stings the disobedient with the anguish of remorse.‡ Now, what gives birth to that secret feeling of

* There is as much ground, or as little for trusting to the report of the moral faculty, as for believing our perceptions in regard to an external world, or our intellect respecting the relations of number and dimension. Whatever be the authority of reason respecting the true, the same is the authority of Conscience for the right and good. (Types of Ethical Theory. Part II. Book I, ch. iv. p. 114, by J. Martineau.)

† "Die Geschichte bezeugt, dass bei allen Völkern das Gewissen als höhere Macht des sittlichen Urtheilens und Richtens bei sämtlichen Beziehungen des bürgerlichen und des religiösen Lebens vorhanden war und anerkannt wurde. In den Religions-Sagen der alten orientalischen Völker, sowie in deren Buss- und Reinigungs-Wesen findet die Idee des Gewissens besonders Ausdruck: bei den Griechen und Römern wurde sie theils in mythologisches Kleid gehüllt, theils von Rednern und Dichtern ausgesprochen, etc., etc."—Vide "Gewissen," in Kirchenlexikon, p. 566, ed. 1888.

‡ Le remords, c'est l'accusateur, le témoin, le juge que Dieu a mis dans le cœur du méchant pour mieux établir que son crime a été vu, pesé, condamné. S'il n'y a pas une loi avec sa récompense certaine et sa punition assurée, le remords n'a pas de raison d'être. Si le crime ne doit, pas trouver un juge infaillible et un vengeur tout-puissant, le remords est une dérision de la nature"—p. 76. L'Immortalité, par M. Bagueault de Puchesse.

self-condemnation and pain, of which every transgressor is fully sensible? Whence springs that pitiless and implacable voice within our souls ever accusing, upbraiding, and chiding us for our rebellion against an authority more peremptory in its commands than any to be found among earthly tribunals, and more actual and obtrusively near to us than any visible presence? Who will offer us an intelligible explanation of this voice, so sweet in its approval that some have thought such approval itself reward sufficient, and yet so terrible in its condemnation that even death is often sought and embraced as a less intolerable alternative.*

The imperiousness of the voice of conscience, though quite one of the most remarkable, is also quite one of the best established facts in nature. It is impossible to deny its existence. It is impossible to explain it away as unimportant. It is impossible to confound it with the experiences of utility. It will sometimes lash a criminal so unmercifully and so goad him on, as to dry up every source of peace and happiness. In fact, as Canning observes:—

No evil is intolerable, but a guilty conscience.

Often, as history proves, it will drive men positively to seek what, under ordinary circumstances they most fear and loathe, *e.g.* death; and not merely death, but a death of ignominy and agony at the hands of the common hangman. Again and again we read of men who have escaped detection after the perpetration of some ghastly murder, giving themselves up at last to the police.† In some cases they have borne the burden of their sin for many years; so many indeed, that every trace of their guilt had vanished, and every

*"Infernaus quidam et carcer animæ, rea conscientia est" says St. Bern: Sern: de Assump: B. V. M. And again:—"Nulla poena gravior prava conscientia." So too St. Ambrose asks:—

"Quæ poena gravior, quam interioris vulnus conscientie? Nonne hoc magis fugiendum quam mors, quam inopia, quam exilium quam debilitatis dolor?" S. Ambros—Lib 3, offic. cap. 4.

† As an instance take the case mentioned in the *Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 26, 1891, where it is stated that a certain Charles Green gave himself up at Bermondsey Police Station for the murder of Minnie Gilmour, whom he confessed he had shot eight months before in Philadelphia. He gave himself up because, as he said, "*I have not had an hour's rest since I did it*"—or as the *Star* (Oct. 24th) put it, "*his deed so haunted him that he determined to hand himself over to the police.*" Such an instance is but one among many.

clue which might have led to their apprehension had become obliterated, and all hope of discovery had been abandoned. It mattered not. In spite of this they could not rest. Their iniquity haunted them still. It rankled in their breasts. It dogged them wherever they bent their steps. It hung above them as a heavy cloud by day, it scared them as a pillar of threatening fire by night. In no case did it cease to harass them. They dwelt amid continual torments, and knew no peace. Anything was preferable to that. Better no life, than life under such conditions. Hence conscience at last constrained them to deliver themselves up to the authorities to be pinioned and hanged by the public executioner. Though such a death is held forth by the executive as the supreme and last threat to terrify evil doers, yet even such a punishment may be found more bearable than the stinging and reproaches of an outraged conscience, which has justly been described as "the hell of a living soul."

Now, how shall we explain this conscience unless we postulate a future life where its unheeded warnings shall be avenged; how account for its impartial verdicts unless we postulate the existence of a God to impress His laws on the fleshy tablets of the heart? * The echo answers, "How?" The necessity of an explanation is admitted by the most unbelieving men of science, but instead of accepting the simple Christian account, they have sought to substitute another in its place. Conscience, they assure us, is nothing more than "the accumulated experiences of utility." The old account of morality, they describe as "absurd," while they calmly inform us that it is "through long experiences of the consequences of conduct, that man has been rendered organically moral." To refute such an extraordinary assumption would need a treatise to itself.† We can do no more here than trust to the common sense of our readers in the matter, and pass on, merely reminding them that the orthodox or Christian theory is in

* "The very existence of conscience" says Cardinal Newman, "carries our minds to a Being exterior to ourselves, for else, whence did it come? and to a Being superior to ourselves, else whence its strange, troublesome peremptoriness?"

† The present writer attempted such a refutation in the pages of one of the American monthlies last year; vide "The Evolutionary Theory as applied to Conscience" in *The Catholic World*, April, 1890.

possession, and that even on scientific grounds a new theory can never oust an old one, unless it can offer a more reasonable and a more complete interpretation of the phenomena under consideration. In the case before us theism offers us, not only a more satisfying answer, but the only answer which is anything better than a subterfuge. By what "experiences of utility," we wonder, would a murderer ever arrive at the heroic determination to deliver himself up into the hands of justice?

But besides (1) the universal belief in God, and (2) the verdict, and (3) the remorse of conscience, there are many other psychological facts which admit of no satisfactory solution—except always, on the supposition that the fundamental dogmas of Faith are true. Take, for example, man's insatiable thirst for happiness, on the one hand, and on the other the utter impossibility of at all adequately satisfying it here upon earth. Where else in all nature shall we find such a craving, such an irrepressible longing denied and balked of its satisfaction? Are all other wants capable of meeting with their appropriate satisfaction but this one? Is the strongest and most persistent of all yearnings to be the only exception to an otherwise universal law?

According to the teaching of Evolutionists a faculty never outgrows its environment, nor a muscle its use. If, owing to a change in the environment, a limb or a muscle has no longer any scope for exercise, it loses its power and becomes atrophied. Thus, if an eye dwell in constant darkness, it will gradually lose its efficiency, and in the course of a few generations its very power of vision will go. It grows blind without even becoming conscious of its loss. In this manner, by a law of adaptation, every unoccupied and superfluous faculty of mind, or body will (if not at once, at all events, in time) correspond with the conditions of its environment. But observe: this principle, though applicable in ten thousand other instances, refuses absolutely all application to man's mental faculties.

His capacity for happiness exceeds, by an immeasurable distance, the opportunities for it afforded him here. Were Darwin's principles just, man's capacity, after all these generations, should have shrunk and contracted to the level of its opportunities. But nothing of the kind has taken place.

Quite the contrary. Man was never so far dissatisfied, never so far above his surroundings, never so aspiring and desirous as at present. The more he gets, the more he wants, and the further he advances in knowledge and civilization, the more extended and boundless grow his desires.* The delights of this world can never satisfy any one. No rational being exists whether man, woman or child who finds the pleasures of this life wholly sufficient, or even in a distant degree, proportioned to his capacities. A sense of incompleteness and therefore of discontent is universal and rests upon every member of the race.

This discontent probably approximates to a qualified contentedness in the case of those only, who believe in a state of future and eternal beatitude to which they can look forward. They are indeed content—content to *wait*.

If we compare the condition of man with the condition of all inferior beings, we cannot fail to note the striking difference. Whereas they afford unmistakable evidence of an end attained, man affords evidence quite as unmistakable of an end not merely unattained, but, in the present order of things, hopelessly unattainable.† The bird that sings to its mate on the waving bough, the fish that darts along in the crystal brook, the bee that murmurs in the bell of the foxglove, and all other sentient beings, down to the industrious parasite or microscopic infusoria, manifest the most unequivocal signs of unclouded happiness and sweet content. They are satiated to the uttermost extent of their capacity. Even the thought of death cannot distress them, nor throw so much as a momentary shadow over their pleasurable existence. For death can cause no suffering except in anticipation, and to

* "We, to-day, are sensible of a thousand wants which were unknown to our grandfathers, relating to comfort, hygiene, cleanliness, education, travel, social intercourse, and it is certain our grandchildren will have further needs. The more we see, the more we learn, the more our curiosity awakens, and the more too do our desires increase and multiply. Each invention, each idea that is born into the world engenders a whole generation of new wants."—See "Principles of Political Economy," by Charles Gide.

† L'homme aspire à sortir de la douleur de l'imperfection, et chaque pulsation de son cœur est un désir de félicité. Quelle limite assigner à ce désir? Il n'en a point:—

"Borné dans sa nature, infini dans ses vœux,
Imparfait ou déchu, l'homme est le grand problème."

Lamartine.

man alone it is given to anticipate.* When death is actually come to bird or beast, it extinguishes sensation and self-consciousness before its presence is even suspected, and when sensation is gone it is too late to learn.

Far otherwise is it with man. He has no practical experience of perfect contentedness.† "Man never *is*, but always *to be* blessed." Who, in sooth, drawing out the contrast between man on the one hand and the irrational beasts on the other can hope to offer a really adequate explanation on a purely scientific basis. Religion will explain it: nothing else ever will.

Consider yet another fact that needs the teaching of faith to interpret it, viz., man's perfectibility. Man's faculties are susceptible of endless expansion and development.‡ Not so those of the lower creation. Irrational animals attain the full perfection of their nature at once, and without difficulty. No one claims for them any sense of want when once their sensual instincts are gratified; nor any strong inward impulse towards a more full and perfect life; nor any of the irrepressible aspirations after higher and nobler things, such as are found welling up in the heart of every good man. If indeed there were no other life awaiting us, who would not envy the peace and calm of the unconscious cattle browsing in the meadows? who would not right willingly exchange his humanity with the birds of the air—with the mischievous sparrow twittering and chirping so gaily among the eaves, or with the agile swallow skimming merrily, merrily over the glassy surface of lake or pond. They at least know no sorrow, nor care, nor poverty, nor disgrace. The sting of remorse, the bitterness of disappointment, the pangs of unrequited love, the anguish of separation and of death, and the blighting and destruction of long cherished hopes, are all

* This is remarked by Schopenhauer:—"Das Thier lernt den Tod *erst im Tode* kennen: der Mensch geht mit Bewusstsein in jeder Stunde seinem Tode näher etc."

† "L'homme élèvera dans son cœur des amour plus vastes, plus purs et plus ardents, et de son cœur malgré tout s'échapperont encore les soupirs, les désirs, les défaillances et les regrets: il ne connaîtra pas le bonheur complet." p. 31, "La nature humaine," par C. Dollfus.

‡ La volonté humaine, au lieu de s'amoindrir à mesure que sa puissance augmente, tend de plus en plus vers un pouvoir sans limite; elle atteste à son tour l'ambition de l'infini que nous remplît. *Le désir de l'infini constitue l'humanité.*" p. 30.—Chas. Dollfus "La nature humaine."

forms of *human* trial that can never enter into their experiences.* They are as happy in their innocence, as they are innocent in their happiness. Man, on the contrary, though the lord of the visible creation, bears about with him the impress of sin and of guilt. His whole condition is a striking revelation of his fall from a higher state. That fact at least may be read in the history of the race throughout the centuries. Whence this remarkable fact? Ask an explanation of Faith, and it points to the fatal tree in the garden of Eden, and then to the tree on the heights of Calvary; and the mystery is cleared up. Demand an explanation of science, and it can only meet our demand with empty words which explain nothing. Science cannot explain, for to her has not been entrusted the key of the riddle.

Man's entire being proclaims, as from the lips of a herald, that there has been a wrench and a dislocation in his moral nature, from which he is still suffering. The dislocation of a joint, by the pain and unrest that it occasions, bears not a more eloquent testimony to the mishap that gave it birth, than man's moral and mental state bears evidence to the original transgression. Yea; in the sorrows, trials, disappointments and tribulations of life, one may read as in a book, unmistakable evidences of the terrible truth taught by divine revelation, that man is a transgressor, and the child of a rebel against the divine ordinance pre-established by the Fashioner and Ruler of the Universe.

Man's dread of death, and his vehement desire of immortality is another indication that he was never meant to perish utterly. Even apart from the natural fear of plunging into the unknown—itself a consequence of latent Faith that all ends not with death—man possesses, under ordinary circumstances, an invincible desire to survive the dissolution of the body. †

* Like the Elf children, described by Musæus, irrational creatures are also "free from all the infirmities of childhood; they have no swathings to gall them; they teeth without epileptic fits; they need no calomel taken inwardly, get no rickets, have no small-pox, and of course no scars, no scum eyes or puckered faces; nor do they require any leading strings."

† "Impossible est appetitum naturalem esse frustra. Sed homo naturaliter appetit perpetuo manere: quod patet ex hoc quod esse est quod ab omnibus appetitur: homo autem per intellectum apprehendit esse, non solum ut nunc, sicut bruta animalia, sed simpliciter. Consequitur ergo homo perpetuitatem secundum animam, qua esse simpliciter et secundum omne tempus apprehendit."—S. Thom: Sum: Con: Gent. II—79.

He feels instinctively, even when death is actually knocking at his door, that the final goal has not yet been reached, and never can he willingly resign himself to annihilation.

Sure there is none but fears a future statè ;
And when the most obdurate swear they do not,
Their trembling hearts belie their boasting tongues.

Dryden.

Even here, while treading the sodden and work-a-day earth, his mind's eye glances down a thousand bright avenues of possible delights which he knows he can no more traverse now, than he can wander through the golden fields of splendour that the sinking sun paints with its fairy brush on the western skies. Who has not experienced in certain favourable moods, silent and sudden flashes like rays through a riven cloud, lighting up his innermost soul, and enchanting every sense, with the purest and most entrancing promises of joys to come—joys, so answering the deepest hunger of the heart, so corresponding to the innermost thirst of the soul, that it leaps and bounds at the very thought, and realizes that it is indeed made for their possession, whether it actually attain to them or not. * Yet how could we account for this fact did all end with death? The whole mystery of life becomes perfectly simple and intelligible when the true Christian explanation is accepted. On any other theory it becomes an involved and complicated tangle which no one can unravel. According to the principle laid down by Haeckel and other scientists we should always accept the theory which best meets and disposes of the phenomena to be accounted for.† This in the case

* " . . . So ergibt sich, dass die Unsterblichkeitsidee seit Beginn des menschlichen Geschlechtes bekannt und anerkannt war; ihr Ursprung datirt sich bis hinauf zum Urmen-schen; sie ist mit dem Finger Gottes eingeschrieben in die Menschenbrust und mit Menschenhand in die Urkunden des grauesten Alterthums . . . Sie existirt bei den ältesten Culturvölkern, Sinesen, Indern, Persern, Aegyptern, eben so gut, wie bei den Naturvölkern, wie sie sich noch in unserm Jahrhunderte in Amerika, Afrika, Australien vorfinden." p. 982 "Die Unsterblichkeitsidee im Glauben" von—Dr. L. Schneider.

† Thus, to give an example of the practical application of this principle, we may instance the case of light and heat. The *sole* reason why the "emission" theory of light and heat has been given up by scientific men, and that the "vibratory" theory has taken its place, is because "the vibratory theory gives a more satisfactory and a completer explanation of the phenomena in question than the older theory."

before us is undoubtedly the Christian theory of One God the Ruler and Controller of the Universe, etc.

The foregoing reflections are, of course, not intended to contain the full weight of proof in support of the Theist's position. They have been introduced to serve merely as a preamble, and to show an *à priori* reasonableness of the supernatural explanations of life. Had we nothing more to show for our belief in a God and a divine Providence than what is touched upon in this paper, we might still establish a claim for our theory over every rival. But, of course, there are innumerable special proofs which are too well known, however, and too well propounded in books accessible to all, to need reproducing here.

We will then conclude by reminding our readers of one last fact, which would be as inexplicable as the rest were God but a myth and eternity but a dream, and that is, that the wisest and best men—those possessing the noblest dispositions and the most gifted intellects—have been the very readiest and most anxious to acknowledge a God and a life beyond the grave. That the holiest should be in error, and the wisest deceived, would be sufficiently strange if true; but it would be far stranger still and almost incredible if the sublimest acts of heroism and generosity ever performed, and the highest virtues and the noblest deeds ever practised had all been inspired by a hope that is delusive and a faith that is false. The life of a single great saint is inexplicable unless the supernatural be admitted; but when we have to account for not one, but hundreds of thousands, the argument assumes overwhelming proportions, and becomes, to an unprejudiced mind, wholly irresistible.

So soon as the existence of God and a future life becomes recognised as a necessary hypothesis, the mind will readily be convinced of the propriety and urgency of a divine revelation to put man in communication with his Maker. Revelation once admitted, the whole principle of divine authority is securely introduced; and in the presence of a fully recognised authority all particular difficulties and objections regarding the supernatural effects of prayer, and the sacraments, and the rest, must dwindle away and speedily vanish. The power of Baptism to purify and sanctify the human soul, for which the

supposed infidel in our opening pages sought ocular and empirical proofs, will then be found (like all other special doctrines of revelation) to rest on a yet firmer and securer ground, namely, on the unswerving basis of a divine promise and institution.

The single hypothesis of an Infinite Being will account for the following facts :—

1. The universal belief in a God.
2. The verdict or judgment of Conscience.
3. The remorse and pain following on a disregard of Conscience's verdict.
4. The desire for a happiness not attainable in this world.
5. The perfectibility of man.
6. Man's instinctive dread and fear of death.
7. Man's inward sense of imperfection, and of a destiny as yet unattained.

To this list we might add many other items. Natural selection of course professes to account for everything, but that system exhausts itself in postulating, and multiplies hypotheses beyond all reason, and in defiance of the well known axiom generally called Occam's razor, which lays it down that—"ENTIA NON SUNT MULTIPLICANDA SINE NECESSITATE."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

ARE AGNOSTICS IN GOOD FAITH ?

A THEOLOGICAL ENQUIRY.

EVER since the religion of Jesus Christ first reached its adult stature and stood four-square to resist the winds of adverse teachings, there has never perhaps been a period when reasoned unbelief in God was wider spread and deeper seated than in these latter days. Atheism has, indeed, ere this been louder and more obtrusive. It has never been more subtle or more seductive. The 18th century was certainly blatant in its unbelief—violent, intolerant, unmeasured. It tore down the altar of "the incorruptible God," and bowed the knee before the altar of an only too corruptible woman. It broke in pieces the figures of Christ and demolished the images of saints, while it guillotined those who practised the religion of Christ and emulated the holiness of the saints. But the unbelief of the 18th century made no lasting impression on the European mind. It was too gross and repulsive to last. It enthroned indeed a "goddess of Reason," but its foundation was ridicule rather than reason, and when the whirlwind of passion that had fanned it into fierce life subsided, it was smothered out beneath the load of its own grotesque and indecent extravagances. But the Agnosticism of our age prides itself on being, above all things, moderate, forbearing, reasonable, refined. It professes to entertain no prejudice against God—if He exist; and to have no disposition to deny His existence—if it can be proved. Modern unbelief, in England at least, is calm and dispassionate. It will weigh evidence as well for, as against, God. It aspires to the character of judge, and disclaims the attitude of counsel. And, indeed, such is its large impartiality that it brings the rush-light of its intelligence to the quest for data to establish the existence of the Almighty, and sorrows like another Diogenes when, lantern in hand at noonday, he sought in the market-place of Athens for a man, and bemoaned his inability to find one. English Agnosticism is, then, a tolerant

philosophy.* It interferes with no man's religious belief; nay, rather it inclines to envy him his capacity to believe. So far from seeking by force to abolish faith in Christ or to prevent the practice of the Christian worship, it professes to feel an earnest respect for the one and to find a real utility in the other. For it holds that the man Jesus—though deluded by a dream that he was God—worked with a well-directed enthusiasm at the mental, moral, and social regeneration of the world, and thus deserved a niche amid the best and noblest of Humanity's sons;† while of his religion it may be said that the pomp and pageantry of its gorgeous ceremonial minister to that sentimental craving for ritual, implanted by a capricious evolution in the sensuous part of human nature.

The unbelief, then, of to-day, compared on its negative side with the unbelief of the 18th century, is a subtler influence and a stronger power for good or evil, because it is so moderate and so liberal and so tolerant of opinions that clash with its own. That it is, in some degree a power for good we English Catholics must needs allow. For we now meet with a large measure of liberty formerly denied to us, and are left to worship God in our own fashion, unvexed and unmolested. The Catholic Church in England and America is prosperous and not afflicted; while the Catholic Church, on the Continent—under a régime of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality—is, on every side, brutally plundered and trampled under foot. This fair treatment English speaking Catholics owe in great part to Agnosticism. Let us be grateful for it. Not that Agnosticism loves us; it is merely indifferent towards us. Yet if indifferentism in the sphere of religion is doing huge harm, that is no reason to deny that it is also doing, indirectly, great good. And of this good we are reaping the benefit.

Modern unbelief, then, by its moderation allays opposition. But it does more. There are elements in it well calculated to make for it, if not partizans, at any rate friends even among

* But it sometimes forgets its gentleness. "Ultramontaniam is demonstrably the enemy of society, and must be met with resistance, merely passive if possible, but active if necessary, by the whole power of the State."—Huxley: "Critiques and Addresses," p. ix.

† A curious view, truly, of Jesus Christ! Surely, as Catherine Elsmere said, He was either a miracle-working God or an infamous impostor. In neither case should He occupy the niche in question.

nominal opponents. For it appeals to human respect and to human sympathy. It appeals to human respect; for a Christian needs to have courage and the strength of his convictions to express dissent from the popular views of the men who represent Agnosticism in this country—men of splendid gifts and brilliant position—men who claim to be freed from the thralldom of prejudice—intellectual Dictators, who, consciously or unconsciously, assume a lofty tone of mental superiority, and from their pedestals, like so many Stylites, look down on the everyday worshippers of common clay below who continue to adore God in the ancient, orthodox, obsolete fashion. For has not Evolution “selected” the agnostic as the “fittest” for advanced development and endowed him with a mind to think more clearly, and a will to will more strongly than the vulgar rank and file of his own generation? And it appeals to human sympathy; for the agnostic has found that life is not worth the living, and hence there is begotten in him a more than Byronic melancholy that has about it for many people an attraction of its own. He is the victim of clear thought. He has sacrificed all in pursuit of pure unadulterated Truth, and, having found it, is very unhappy. For, as he will tell you, his philosophy in destroying the primitive childlike delusions about things—about God, and the human soul, and the eternity of punishment and reward, and the other “fascinationes nugacitatis” or witcheries of nonsense that so long have amused and beguiled men—has robbed life of its pleasantnesses, of all that gave it substance and solemnity, of all that cheered and gladdened it, of all its warmth and charm and colouring, and has left to its votary little to live for in the present, and nothing to hope for in the future, has left him as one only dreary inheritance to travail in weariness of spirit for the benefit of that airy nothing called Posterity, for which very possibly he cares hardly anything at all, and which most certainly will care absolutely nothing for him. So that behind the Agnostic sits Black Care, and he frankly confesses that the dry light of pure intellect is but a feeble substitute for that thick mental atmosphere in which the benighted believer bows the knee and prays, with bated breath, to the invisible intangible fetish, whom, in reverence, he calls Almighty God.

The agnostic, then, is so magnanimously regretful at his own advantages, mental and moral, and laments in so touching a strain the position of profound hopelessness to which—as he loves to put it—inexorable logic has reduced him that a tendency is noticeable, even among practising Christians, to admire and sympathise with the know-nothing philosophy, and to hint that it perhaps has a good deal to say for itself, and at least ought not to be too lightly condemned. I propose, therefore, to examine to what extent theology may be said to justify this sympathy, and to consider in the light of revelation how far an agnostic can fairly be regarded as in good faith and as conscientious in his unbelief. The arguments to be brought forward are, in the main, such as all denominations of Christians must admit to be valid; and even a fair-minded opponent in the agnostic camp, though he may refuse to receive revelation as the Word of God, will not deny a considerable value to what we call the inspired writers and the Fathers of the Church—the greatest intellects as well of the Old Dispensation as of the New. Finally, if in this paper hard words are applied to unbelievers the writer desires to point out that they are not his, but are those of the authorities he quotes. The agnostic claims to condemn us on his principles. He will not refuse us the right to judge him on ours.

It is necessary, however, at the very outset to forestall a preliminary objection. Theology, it will be said, can in no sense be a witness against Agnosticism. Theology has simply no *locus standi* in the case. The formal object of theology, the source from which it derives its premises and argues to its conclusions, is revelation; but how prove the existence of a revelation unless you first prove there is a God to reveal? Theology claims to be a science of which the primary subject-matter is God. Now a science or an art postulates, it does not demonstrate, the existence of its subject-matter. The geometrician, given a radius and a circumference, will work out, according to the rules of geometrical science, the relation of radius to circumference. The shoemaker, given a pair of feet requiring shoes, will measure and shoe them according to approved rules of sutorial art. Similarly, the theologian, given God, will explain the nature and attributes of divinity; but the theologian assumes the divine existence just as much as

the geometrician assumes the existence of a circle and the shoemaker the existence of feet to be shod. In one word, protests the adversary, theology presupposes God's existence and can therefore have no claim to sit in judgment on the agnostic who denies that existence. Theology has no jurisdiction in the matter.

This objection, it is fair to allow, is based on truth, but not on the whole truth. For the philosophical arguments, drawn from pure reason to prove the divine existence, may be viewed in a two-fold way—directly and reflexively. They are studied *directly* when we consider the nature of contingent beings, their mingled perfections and imperfections, the dependence of the universe as well as the arrangement of its parts and the co-ordination of these parts to an end, the absolute and ineradicable power of the moral law to impose moral obligations, and, in a less degree, to coerce the conscience and enforce the moral dictates; and thus we are led by our unaided reason, by the intellectual light connatural to the mind of man, to understand how there must exist a Non-contingent, Necessary Being, the creative Cause of these manifold effects, a Being All-powerful, All-wise, Most-perfect, Supreme, Unchanging, just and holy Upholder and Legislator, Origin and End of all things. In this way is God's existence studied directly in the light of *à posteriori* reasoning. But we can also study the reasoning itself and weigh the value of the arguments adduced. The rational arguments for God's existence are viewed *reflexively* when we examine into the general question as to whether man's mind is endowed with the faculty to arrive by its own unaided natural light, and that, too, with certainty, at a knowledge of God's existence; and, more in particular, whether human reason, of itself and without supernatural aid, can ascend from the existence of the creature to the existence of the Creator, from the existence of the Made can deduce the existence of the Maker, and can prove Him to be a Supreme and Divine Being—God, one, true, personal, distinct from the rest of the material and spiritual universe. This reflex study belongs to the spheres of both reason and revelation, of both philosophy and theology—but to each in a different way. In philosophy, the direct and reflex considerations are so intimately connected that in the direct

demonstration we have a solution of the reflex question; for it is universally true that human reason, when it knows an object with certainty, knows also by virtue of its very constitution that its knowledge is true. A very superficial self-introspection will make this clear. When, for example, the student has learnt that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides, he knows implicitly that he knows this truth, and he knows implicitly that he knows it truly. Hence it is an axiom of sound philosophy that there is no true knowledge unless, knowing, you know that you know; for knowledge is that resplendent intellectual light which illuminates and reveals, not only other things, but also itself. It would be superfluous to add that this implicit, reflex, philosophical knowledge may of course be made explicit, may be made more perfect and rendered more distinct by a formal analysis of the arguments involved.

This judgment, implicit or explicit, which human reason passes on its own natural capacity to know God, and on the rational demonstration by which it knows Him, does not exclude a supernatural utterance and declaration on the possibility and moral necessity of acquiring this knowledge. There is nothing inconsistent in this, that God, the author of the light of reason, should have delivered to us a supernatural revelation declarative of man's faculty of knowing Him, and of the precise manner of exercising this faculty. In a word, if the Creator has endowed man with reason, and has opened a channel, through creatures, by which man may exercise that reason to acquire an *à posteriori* knowledge of his Maker's existence, it is not difficult to understand that God should, by revelation, recall these facts to man's mind, and should chide man for his denial of the Creator who gave him being. To study this revelation is to study *reflexively and theologically* the rational arguments for the divine existence.

After this necessary vindication of the general claim of theology to testify to—to state, and weigh, and declare—the value of the rational arguments for God's existence, we can pass on to the particular question as to whether, in fact, it does so testify. Is there, in reality, a revelation in which God

theoretically indicates the way in which man, by the unaided light of reason, can and ought to attain to a knowledge of Himself; by which He *practically* declares that rational demonstrations of His existence, based on the fact of the existence of the Universe, are valid and sufficient?

These questions have not seldom been answered in the negative. Even within the pale of the Church they have been answered in the negative. Supernaturalists asserted the absolute necessity of internal supernatural grace to strengthen the intellect for its acquisition of a knowledge of God. Traditionalists held that arguments from reason can do no more than corroborate and confirm the primitive supernatural revelation, handed down by tradition to our own day, concerning the existence of God.

Chief among the Supernaturalists Luther railed at Catholic theologians for recognizing a natural faculty of the intellect competent to argue to a knowledge of God. His heresy was the very opposite to that of Pelagius. The latter so over-rated man's natural powers as to deny the necessity for grace even in the supernatural order. The former so under-rated man's natural powers as to assert the necessity for grace even in the natural order. Sin, Luther contended, has warped and weakened both intellect and will, so that in his fallen nature man can no longer connaturally either know or love God.* Calvin and the other sectaries followed suit and denied the possibility of a knowledge of God without supernatural grace.† Then the Jansenists undertook the defence of this error, and went even further in their depreciation of man's natural powers. Among the famous 101 propositions culled from the works of the notorious Jansenist, Pasquier Quesnel, and condemned as heretical by Pope Clement XI.‡ were the two following:—

All knowledge of God, even natural knowledge, even that possessed by the Pagan philosophers, can come only from God; and without grace begets only presumption, vanity, and opposition to God.

* Cf. Doellinger, "Reformation," i., 437.

† Cf. Bellarmine, "Controv. de gratia et lib. arb.," iv., 2.

‡ In the Bull *Unigenitus*, on September 8th, 1713.

And again :—

What else can there be in us but darkness, wandering, and sin, if we have not the light of faith, &c.

This error has died hard, if it can even now be said to be dead. On the 8th September, 1840, pressure was put on Bautain, a priest and professor of theology at Strasburg, to subscribe to the following thesis, of which he had been publicly teaching the contradictory :—

The use of reason precedes faith, and leads man to faith by aid of revelation and grace.

Among the later Traditionalists Cardinal de Bonald* maintained that the human race has not, and cannot have, any rational knowledge of God, except such as was implanted in it with the gift of speech and has been handed down by tradition. The basis of this opinion was the curious view that ideas spring from words, not words from ideas. The unhappy Lamennais taught that all natural knowledge of God and of the moral order springs from a primitive revelation, and that the medium by which to gauge the contents of this revelation, and the one criterion of the truth of it, is the consensus of the race.† Ventura modified this opinion so far as to allow that God's existence can be proved from reason, but only if faith has preceded—understanding by 'faith' an assent based on the word of our elders.‡ Finally, M. Bonnetty, the learned editor of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, having in his defence of Traditionalism branded as veiled rationalism the common teaching of Catholic theologians as to the natural power of man's unaided reason to attain to a knowledge of God, had submitted to him for signature (June 15th, 1855) the following proposition :—

The method used by St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and by other subsequent scholastics does not lead to rationalism; neither was it the cause why in the Schools of to-day philosophy borders on Naturalism and Pantheism, &c.§

* *Recherches philosophiques sur les premiers objets des connaissances morales*, 1840.

† *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*.

‡ *La ragione e filosofia e la ragione cattolica*. Conferenze del Gioacchino Ventura.

§ The Church has condemned the doctrine of the *absolute and physical* necessity of revelation for a knowledge of God. But to prevent misconcep-

After this brief historical summary which will help to clear the ground, we can now address ourselves directly to the question under discussion. Does theology then declare there are rational arguments to prove God's existence? And, if so, does it teach that these proofs are of such a nature as, of themselves, to produce certainty? Finally, does it affirm that every man lies under a strict moral obligation to know and accept these proofs? To these questions theology—Scripture, the Fathers, the Councils—replies with a most unmistakable and emphatic affirmative.

And first as to the declarations of Scripture. Two classes of arguments are put forward in Holy Writ as leading to a knowledge of God, the historical and the cosmological.

The historical argument—which I do not propose to dwell on here—was used at least twice by St. Paul; once, when preaching to the men of Lystra :—

...God who made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless, he left not himself without testimony, doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.*

And again in the Areopagus at Athens :—

God it is who giveth to all life and breath and all things, and hath made of one, all mankind to dwell upon the face of the earth, determining appointed times and the limits of their habitation, that they should seek God if haply† they may feel after Him or find Him, although He be not far from every one of us; for in Him we live and move and are.‡

tion it may be well to add that the Vatican Council defined the *moral and relative* necessity of it, in these words:—*To divine revelation is due the fact that, about those things concerning God which are not of their own nature above the reach of human reason, all men can, in the present condition of mankind, have knowledge that is easily acquired, perfectly certain, and unmixed with error. Nevertheless, revelation is not, on this account, to be called absolutely necessary.*—Constit. I. Cap 2, De Revel.

* Acts xiv., 14—16.

‡ Acts xvii., 25—28.

† Bengel writes on "if haply" :—"The way lies open. God is ready to be found, but He does not compel a man. He wishes him to be free in such a way as that when a man seeks and finds God, this in respect to God may be in some measure, so to speak, a contingent act. The particle implies that the attempt is easy."

The verb "feel after him" implies a groping in the dark along the wall. Rosenmüller says :—"If haply they may feel after Him, i.e., if perchance

In these texts St. Paul had in mind the secondary causes of the physical order, which in the guiding hand of God minister to the preservation and well-being of mankind. These things without intellect move towards an end, and, in the main, towards the best end.* This is evident from the uniformity of their operation. It is equally evident that motion towards an end must have an intellectual superintending cause. What is this cause? It cannot be the non-intellectual brute creation, animate or inanimate. This cause can only be God. St. Paul had also in mind the history of the nations of the earth, a history so ordained by God that in the course of events men could not but see the divine element underlying and showing through the human. "Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; *nevertheless he left not Himself without testimony.*" What was this testimony? "Doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." And this with the purpose that men "should seek God if haply they may feel after or find Him." Lastly, the apostle alludes to the benevolent Providence of God that guides and directs the life of each individual man; "He is not far from each of us, for in Him we live, and move, and are." St. Paul therefore sets forth a triple aspect of God's paternal guardianship of man; He guides the brute creation, animate and inanimate to a definite end for the good of man; He moulds the history of nations; He shapes the life of the individual. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is too obvious to need expression, and the Apostle does not express it. Man is shown to be a dependent being; he has a guardian, and is therefore a ward—with the duties and obligations of a ward. And he knows his own dependence, for in every man, in full possession of his reason, there is begotten—as it were spontaneously and

they may grasp Him with the hand. He made all these things to give them an opportunity of finding Him, as it were, by touch. For from the works of creation it is with the greatest ease that the existence of the Creator and All-Ruler can be known." This natural knowledge of God from creatures is obscure, not absolutely but relatively; that is, as compared with the immediate vision of God in heaven. "We see now through a glass in a dark manner, but then face to face." (I. Cor. xiii., 12). If a man gropes along the wall, he is certain to reach the door at last.

* It should be borne in mind that in the finite order there is no such thing as an absolute best. God, in Genesis, saw that creation was "very good," but not the best. Nothing but the infinite can be the best, and no creature, inasmuch as it is a creature, can be infinite.

inevitably—an obscure and confused knowledge of a Supreme Being watching over and caring for him, so that he is led to grope after God and to find Him more clearly and more explicitly through a consideration of the manifold blessings of Divine Providence.

We now pass on to a consideration of the Scriptural testimony to the value of the physical or cosmological argument for God's existence. The primary classical text on the subject is Romans i., 18—25:—

18. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and injustice of those men that detain the truth of God in injustice. 19. Because that which is known of God is manifest in them. For God hath manifested it unto them. 20. For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and divinity; so that they are inexcusable. 21. Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. 22. For professing themselves to be wise they became fools. 23. And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds and of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things. 24. Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart unto uncleanness to dishonour their own bodies among themselves. 25. Who changed the truth of God into a lie; and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.

And the Old Testament (Wisdom xiii., 1—10) makes a similar declaration not less conclusive:—

But all men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God; and who, by these good things that are seen, could not understand Him that is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged who was the workman. 2. But have imagined either the fire, or the wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the great water, or the sun and moon, to be the gods that rule the world. 3. With whose beauty if they being delighted took them to be gods; let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they; for the first author of beauty made all those things. 4. Or if they admired their power and their effects, let them understand by them that He that hath made them is mightier than they. 5. For by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen, so as to be known thereby. 6. But yet [it may be objected] as to these they are less to be blamed. For they perhaps err, seeking God and desirous to find Him. 7. For being conversant among His works, they search; and they are persuaded that

the things are good which are seen. 8. But then again [it is answered] they are not to be pardoned. 9. For if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world: how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof. 10. But unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead . . . *

These texts speak for themselves. They are certainly cogent and convincing enough. However, to draw them out a little, four things should be made clear from them. The Traditionalists, as has been said, contend that the rational arguments for God's existence do not prove, but only confirm, the supernatural revelation of that existence; and that human reason, apart from revelation, is incompetent to refute Pantheism. The first point then to make good is that, in these texts, the

* These two texts are so alike that it is difficult to believe St. Paul had not this chapter of Wisdom in mind when he penned his first chapter to the Romans. The following arrangement shows the parallelism:—

WISDOM XIII.

Verse.

1. All men are vain in whom there is not the knowledge of God.

1—2. Who by these good things that are seen could not understand Him that is, neither by attending to the works have acknowledged who was the workman; but have imagined either the fire, &c., to be the gods that rule the world.

3—4. With whose beauty if they being delighted took them to be gods, let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they . . . or if they admired their power and their effects, let them understand by them that He that made them is mightier than they.

5. For by the greatness of the beauty, and of the creature, the Creator of them may be seen so as to be known thereby.

8. They are not to be pardoned.

9. For if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world [to make a thorough study of the visible world], how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof? The introductory proposition of Wisdom (verse 1) is identical with the final conclusion of Romans (verse 21)—viz., that ignorance of God is vanity.

ROMANS I.

Verse.

18. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against . . . men who detain the truth of God in injustice.

22—23—28. Professing themselves to be wise they became fools. And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, &c. And they liked not to have God in their knowledge.

19. Because that which is known [knowable] of God is manifest in them. For God hath manifested it unto them.

20. For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, &c.

20. They are inexcusable.

21. Because that when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened.

inspired writers understand by "God," a Supreme Being endowed with intellect and will, distinct from the world, to whom the rational creature owes divine honour. In one word, a personal God must be the material object of the demonstration. Again, the Ontologists maintain that our knowledge of God is immediate and intuitive—a false and delusive philosophy destructive of the position it is meant to defend. The second point, therefore, to establish is that the rational arguments for God's existence are *à posteriori* and deductive, are an intellectual ascent from creature to Creator. That is, the created universe must be the objective principle of the demonstration. Furthermore, against Supernaturalists holding the intrinsic incapacity of man's mind to know God at all, if not fortified by internal supernatural grace, it must be proved thirdly that the sacred writers postulate no such grace but confine themselves to the natural order pure and simple. Hence the subjective principle of the demonstration must be the connatural unaided light of human reason. Fourthly and lastly it remains to be shown that the Sacred Scriptures claim for these rational arguments adduced to prove God's existence, not merely that they have a presumption in their favour, not merely that they have about them a show and semblance of truth, not merely that they are reasonable, or plausible, or specious, or highly probable; but that they are practically and overwhelmingly certain.

I. The material object of the demonstration is a personal, not a pantheistic God. This indeed is evident from the context as well as from the drift and purpose of the writers. For St. Paul lays down, not only that the Gentiles had the means to know God generically "by the things that are made," but also specifically that they could make acquaintance with His Eternity and Power and Divinity, "His eternal power also and divinity" (v. 20). Moreover the apostle (v. 21) upbraids the nations for not having glorified God nor given Him thanks—an unreasonable complaint if the God of St. Paul were an entity indistinct from creation, void both of intellect and of will. Indeed the very point of the complaint was that the recognition, glory, and worship due to the personal God had been transferred to impersonal, brute, and inanimate deities, "And

they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, &c. . . . And they changed the truth of God into a lie and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator."

Nor is the Wise Man less emphatic in his account of the personal character of the Creator. He calls God, "Him that Is" (*i.e.* Essential Being)*—the "Artificer of the world" (v. 1), "the Lord of the world" (v. 9)—predicates that effectually differentiate God from the world created by God. Like St. Paul, he sets off this Artificer against the spurious deities whom the world worshipped, jibing with infinite contempt and scorn at these soulless divinities, "But unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead who have called gods the work of the hands of men, gold and silver, the inventions of art, and the resemblances of beasts, or an unprofitable stone the work of an ancient hand." (v. 10). Such worshippers "are not to be pardoned." Hence against pantheistic views he speaks with no faltering tongue. Blameworthy and stuffed with folly he holds them to be who confound God with the world and identify Him with things made, who close their eyes to the patent fact that the Creator is distinct from the work of His own hands.

II. The objective principle of the demonstration is the world, and not supernatural revelation. This meaning is demanded by the obvious sense of St. Paul. For the purpose of the apostle is to show that all men, Jew and Gentile, are alike guilty before God. All, he argues, had it in their power to know God and to know the Moral Law, and yet they had failed to honour and worship the one or to regulate human life according to the dictates of the other. Then, to forestall an objection of the Gentiles that they, having received no revelation like the Jews, had sinned from ignorance, St. Paul puts aside the excuse and emphatically declares that God and His Law are naturally knowable from created things alone without any supernatural manifestation.

Nor is this sense less evident in "Wisdom." The drift of

* Cf the etymological meaning of Jehovah; as also Apoc. 1. 4. "Him that is and that was, and that is to come;" and Exod. iii., 14. "God said to Moses: *I am who am.*"

the writer is this; All men are blameworthy who know not God—*all*, even those who live under no light of supernatural revelation. For it is an easy thing for all men to find out God. It is a plain ascent from visible things that are good to the Invisible Good, to "Him who Is" (v. 1)—from works to workman—from reflected beauty to the Source of beauty (v. 3)—from created power to Power Increate (v. 4)—from creature to Creator (v. 5).

To express this in another way. An object of knowledge can be actually known only in so far as it actually manifests itself to the mind. Without this self-exhibition it might be knowable, it would not be known. To the ancients who thought the earth was flat the antipodes were knowable, but unknown. Now this self-manifestation may be made in two ways. An object may be its own evidence, by itself, immediately—as, for example, a fire when you look into it. And it may manifest itself only mediately through another, through the medium of something else previously known—as smoke reveals the presence of fire, or, in general terms, as an effect reveals the existence of its cause. The Scriptures plainly teach that God is naturally evident to human reason; not indeed immediately, for the immediate vision of God "not as in a glass darkly, but face to face" is a supernatural grace bestowed only in the Beatific Vision; but mediately through creatures as such, by knowing them as an effect and thus ascending to a knowledge of their Cause, the Creator; "That which is known is manifest in them," that which is objectively knowable becomes subjectively known, "for God hath manifested it unto them," hath made Himself actually known. And the Apostle tells us the manner of this manifestation. "for the invisible things of Him are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."* Hence God who

* Many modern commentators (v.g. Alford) understand "from the creation of the World" to refer to *time*; for this reason that, if it referred to the *cause* of man's knowledge of God, the words "by the things that are made" would be tautological. The reason assigned seems incorrect. It is a view at least tenable that "from the creation" (meaning from created things) is the starting point, the terminus a quo, of cognition; while, "by the things that are made," is epexegetical of "creation," is the formal cause of cognition, and expresses the precise aspect under which "creation" must be apprehended, namely, as an effect. For the mind can rise from "creation" to "Creator," only on condition that it knows "creation" as such, i.e., as a thing (or collec-

of Himself and in His substance is naturally unintelligible to weak human reason,—not from defect but from excess of intelligibility,* manifests Himself and His attributes—His Eternity, His Power, His Divinity—by the intelligible effects of which He is the cause. Now, it is the very point of the complaint made by the apostle and by the author of "Wisdom" that man has prostituted his reason and refused to see that 'creation' is an effect, is the synthesis of "things that are made." For "these good things that are seen" ("Wisdom," xiii, 1) are defective and therefore caused. The "works" participate in reality, but only the "Workman" is pure reality ("He who Is"). For the "works" are limited, and pure reality is without limit. Creatures are, for example, living; but they are not life. The brute has the life of brute animality, but it is a life restricted to this particular grade, it is non-intellectual life, it is life limited in excellence, limited in duration. It shares largely in reality, but it shares more largely still in unreality. There is much that it has; but there is incalculably more that it has not. Where then is the fountain-head of reality whereof each creature is a rill? What is the reason that limited being is real, but not reality; living, but not life; powerful, just, merciful, wise, but not power, nor justice, nor mercy, nor wisdom? What then, is the cause of limited being? Not limited being itself. For, because it is limited, it is not self-existent; not self-existent, and therefore not its own cause. Limited being has, therefore, a cause outside itself, self-existent, unlimited, infinite. And such a cause in God.

In the study we are engaged on, two distinct questions present themselves for solution, and are solved in different ways. "Is there a God?" "What is God?" As we have seen, the imperfection of the creature solves the former question, for the finite implies the Infinite. To answer the

tion of things) "made." In this very obvious sense was the text interpreted by the Greek Fathers who may be allowed to have understood their own tongue, by Basil, *ep 235 ad Amphil*; Theodoret in *h. l*; Cyril of Alex. in *Is. 13. 12. p515*; Gregory of Nyssa. *c. Eunom. 12. 346*; Chrysostom. *De Diab. Tent. Hom 2. n 3*.

* Aristotle distinguishes between "things more knowable in themselves" and "things more knowable to us." (*Prior. Anal. 1. 2*) and points out that the more an object is intelligible in itself the less is it intelligible to us because further removed from sensible perception. The sun at mid-day is a plain object to see, but not to the owl.

latter, we must turn from the negative to the positive side of creation, from what the creature is not, to what the creature is, from its imperfections to its perfections. For as these imperfect things, by virtue of their very imperfection, point to One more perfect, higher and nobler than themselves, and clamour (like Paul and Barnabas to the Lycaonians) "We are not thy God; seek higher;" so on the other hand, do they, by virtue of their perfection—by their beauty, or power, or wisdom, or justice, or love—point the finger to One from whom all these attributes are derived, and in whom all these qualities are combined, who is Absolute Beauty, Absolute Power, Absolute Wisdom, and Justice and Love.* This is the drift of the Wise Man's discourse:

With whose beauty if they being delighted took them (creatures) to be gods, let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they. If they admired their power . . . He that made them is mightier than they (v. 3. 4.)

The perfections of these imperfect "works" are but a shadow of the infinite excellence, and yet a shadow revealing substance.

Ask now the beasts and they will teach thee; and the birds of the air, and they shall tell thee. Speak to the earth and it shall answer thee, and the fishes of the sea shall tell. Who is ignorant that the hand of the Lord hath made all these things.†

This twofold aspect of creatures, their perfection and their imperfection, is alluded to in that most beautiful verse of the psalm (xviii., 1).

The heavens [by their magnificence] show forth the glory of God; and the firmament [by its want of absolute perfection] declareth the work of his hands.

In all this neither inspired writer speaks of, or pre-supposes, or implies a primitive supernatural revelation made to man by God about Himself. The Scriptures give no jot or tittle of support to Traditionalism.

* "God is love." I John 4 8.

† Job xii., 7—9.

III. The subjective principle of the demonstration of God's existence is, not supernatural grace, but the natural light of the human understanding. This is roundly asserted by St. Paul in so many words; "for the invisible things of him are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made;" so that between God and the world made by God, there is that intimate link, bond, and connection by virtue of which the existence of God is legitimately inferred from the existence of the world—a nexus so obvious that those who shut their eyes to it "are inexcusable" (v. 20.) And the Wise Man is equally positive on the point, as a glance at the scope of his chapter will show. St. Paul had contented himself with the general statement that man can, and ought, from the existence of the creature to argue by the natural light of reason to the existence of the Creator. But the author of "Wisdom" goes into detail; he sketches out the main outlines of the argument. The proposition he sets himself to prove is this, "All men are nought who know not God," (v. 1.)* and in support of his thesis he contends that a knowledge of the existence and perfections of the universe can and ought to lead to a knowledge of the existence and perfections of God. He shows us what the starting point is from which the mind sets out to investigate, insists on the simplicity of the process, and indicates the goal at which it quickly arrives.

STARTING POINT.

TERMINUS

These good things that are seen (v. 1.) lead man	{ to understand Him who Is. (v. 1).
Attending to the "works" (v. 1.) leads man	{ to acknowledge the "workman" (v. 1).
Delight in the world's beauty (v. 3) leads man	{ to know how much more beautiful is the Lord of the world (v. 3).
Admiration at the power and efficacy of created things (v. 4)	{ leads man to grasp the idea how their Maker is mightier than they (v. 4).

And having thus set forth the logical connection between this visible universe and the invisible Maker thereof, the Wise Man concludes (as did St. Paul) that those who worship the

* The Greek text reads, "Fools are all men by nature in whom there is habitual ignorance of God;" "by nature" that is, "by abuse of the natural faculty of reason" This is parallel with St. Paul's "became vain (the Greek is *became fools*) in their thoughts." v. 21.

creature, bewitched by the beauty of it, are without excuse (v. 8.) Unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead (v. 10); because the same reasoning faculty that enabled them to study and appreciate the universe should have led them, still more easily, to a knowledge of the existence and perfections of the Lord of this universe; for if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world, how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof (v. 9).

Supernaturalism—or the doctrine that man without supernatural help cannot know God—has, therefore, no basis in Scripture.

IV. On the fourth point—that Scripture claims real certainty for the rational arguments in proof of God's existence—there is no need to dwell. According to St. Paul the reasoning in question is in its evidence so convincing and entirely irresistible that the unbelievers "who professed themselves to be wise, became fools," and were "inexcusable." And the New Testament does but, on this point, re-echo the Old, for the Wise Man had beforehand said of them that they were "inane," "unhappy," their "hope is among the dead," "they are not to be pardoned."

Such is the emphatic teaching of Scripture. The same doctrine is put forward in a not less uncompromising way, and if possible still more emphatically, by the Greek and Latin Fathers. To a student of patristic learning, the traditional teaching on the following heads will be abundantly clear; first, that this visible universe is a natural manifestation of God, appealing to man's unaided reason; secondly, that this objective manifestation, and the subjective power of the mind to grasp, realise, and appropriate it, are of such a character that in all men, arrived at the full use of reason, there arises—as it were, spontaneously—a knowledge of God at least confused and indistinct; thirdly, that to develop this primitive cognition, to make it full and explicit, to render it clear and distinct, there are ample means at hand—whether we consider the native powers of the human understanding itself or the traces of God in creation—to enable the mind to mount from creature to Creator.

But it may be well to recall to mind that the Fathers recognize and insist on two separate and distinct stages in the natural knowledge of God; the one, obscure, confused, and more or less spontaneous, which impels a reasoning man to examine further; the other, clear, distinct, reflex and philosophical. Of course this philosophical knowledge presupposes a trained and educated mind. It presupposes an intellect cultured enough to grasp the essential dependence of the universe, to understand what contingent being is, and to realise how the finite, imperfect, created implies of necessity the Infinite, Perfect, Self-existent. It presupposes a power to appreciate the "greatness of the beauty of the world," its unity in multiplicity, the marvellous subordination of the vast and the tiny, the gigantic and the microscopic to their proximate, mediate, and final ends. It presupposes a capacity to analyze and synthesize the "works," and thus elaborate and "pick out" a clearer notion of the "Workman." Such a study is not necessarily a process merely *à posteriori*. For when the existence of a First Cause has once been demonstrated *à posteriori* from contingent being, than by an *à priori* method, by a study of the intrinsic and essential constitution of Necessary Being, we can arrive at a more elaborate and explicit knowledge of God. The subtle-minded Augustine, when he fell to the contemplation of "What God is," betook himself to the metaphysical order; he sifted eternal and immutable truth as it reveals itself in mathematics and the other sciences; he analyzed the ideas of wisdom, justice, truth, goodness; he examined into the metaphysical laws which—rooted in the divine essence, though independent of all will, even the divine—rule and govern not only the actual but the possible; and by these means he strove to gain an extended view of the Truth, Wisdom, and Substantial Goodness which are the foundation and exemplar of the whole metaphysical and notional order, as well as the Cause of the light of reason by which we understand that order. Such a study is obviously beset with difficulties and though within the *physical* competence of all men it is within the *moral* and practical capacity of few. Hence the reasonableness of the dogmatic decree of the Vatican Council.* That to super-

* Quoted above, p. 3, note S.

natural revelation it is due that *all* men can know God *easily, with certainty, and without admixture of error.*

But it is with the non-philosophical knowledge of God we are here concerned. The Fathers teach, with striking unanimity, that, besides and prior to the knowledge of God acquired by scientific demonstration, there is a knowledge of the divine existence common to all men who have not quenched the torch of reason within them. That in a paper like this there is not space for more than a few specimen passages from patristic writings, such as strike the keynote of tradition on the subject, is sufficiently obvious. For the argument to the existence of God is repeated, inculcated, and driven home on every possible occasion by practically every Father from Justin to Bernard, and a complete catena would fill a volume.*

The Fathers pre-suppose the existence of God as a first principle, which no man in his wits would question. Clement of Alexandria, who (be it noted) had a perfect acquaintance with the life, manners, and literature of contemporary Paganism, writes :—

Peradventure the proof of God's existence ought not even to be undertaken, since His Providence is plain to be seen from a glance at His works—works full of art, and wisdom, and order, and method. But He who gave us being and life gave us also reason, and willed us to live according to that reason (and not to ignore our Maker).

And again :—

God, our Parent and the Creator of all things, is seen in all things through the inborn power of the mind and without instruction, by all men, Greeks and foreigners. But no class of men—bucolic, nomad, or city resident—can fail to have their minds filled with one and the same primitive conviction of the being of Him who set up the world.†

The Fathers again testify most unmistakably to the value of the theistic argument. St. John Chrysostom, commenting on the classical passage from St. Paul to Romans,‡ writes :—

Whence, O Paul, is it known that God implanted this knowledge of Himself in the nations? Because (saith he) *that which is known of God is manifest in them.* This, however, is assertion, not proof. But do thou

* Cf. Petavius "De Deo," l. 1; Klentgen, "Theologie der Vorzeit, tom. 2.

† "Strom." v., 547-612.

‡ "Hom." 3.

demonstrate to me and make it clear that the knowledge of God was manifest in them, and that with open eyes they turned aside. Whence, then, was it manifest? Did He send them a voice from above? Not at all. But he made what attracted more than any voice. He created and set this universe before their eyes, so that wise man and witling, Scythian and barbarian, being penetrated through sight with the beauty of things seen, could mount up to God. Wherefore he hath it: *the invisible things*, &c. What, too, saith the prophet? *The heavens declare the glory of God*. What excuse, then, shall the nations make in the day of wrath? We knew Thee not? Knew Me not! Heard ye nought, then, telling of Me? Not the firmament proclaiming Me by its aspect? No harmonies and symphonies of the trumpet-tongued universe? None of the unchanging, everstable laws of day and night, with the fixed and goodly order of winter, spring, and the other seasons, together with the sea, ever tractable amid all its billows and its turbulence? Knew ye not of all these things, abiding in their order, preaching aloud the Creator by their beauty and their magnificence? All this, forsooth, and more doth the text of Paul sum up as in a nutshell.

Theophilus of Antioch enforces the same doctrine by an apt similitude:—

As the soul of man is itself invisible to men, but is perceived by the movement of the body; so, in like manner, God cannot be seen by the human eye, but is known by His providence and His works.

The Fathers moreover teach, with equal clearness, that this knowledge of God's existence is easy and accessible to all men who have not warped and debased their reason. So Augustine:—

Such is the force of true divinity that from the rational creature with full use of his faculties God cannot be wholly and entirely hidden; for, (excepting a few in whom human nature is too degraded) the whole race of men confesses God the Maker of the world.*

Gregory the Great puts it pithily:—

Every rational man—from the very fact that he is rational—ought to gather from reason that his Maker is God.†

And Chrysostom, with his golden eloquence:—

Silent is the firmament, but its very aspect is more than trumpet-tongued in its appeal, not to ear but to eye. Scythian and barbarian, Indian and Egyptian, and every earth-treading man will hear this voice . . . and whithersoever he goeth, by gazing on the sky, will find instruction enough in the look of it.‡

* In Jo. 106, n. 4. † Moral 1 27, c. 5, n. 8.

‡ Hom. 9, ad pop, Antioch n. 2.

Nor can a man, according to patristic teaching, shut his eyes to God's existence. He can debauch and prostitute his reason and thus in the end cheat and deceive himself, but as Tertullian emphatically expresses it :—

No man denies—for no man is blind to what nature itself suggests—that God made the universe.*

And in the same sense Gregory Nazianzen uses words almost too strong for the politeness of modern ears :—

That God exists as the chief and primal Cause, Originator, and Preserver of all things is a fact made patent both by external nature and by natural law . . . Too dull and drivelling assuredly is the man who does not by himself attain to this degree of knowledge.

As a natural corollary of this teaching the Fathers hold the knowledge of God to be universal. This is sufficiently apparent from the foregoing extracts which may, however, be supplemented by another from Tertullian, where addressing Pagans on the proofs of God's existence, he says :—

I call in a fresh witness . . . Stand thou forth, O soul, in open court . . . Not thee do I summon who hast been formed in the schools, trained in libraries, a frequenter of porches and academies, a babbler of crude wisdom. I address a soul, simple, rustic, unpolished, homely, such a soul as they have who have only thee ; such a soul as we meet on the road, in the highways, at the shops of artizans. I have need of thy inexperience . . . Thou art not, I know, a Christian . . . Nevertheless Christians now demand of thee a testimony. . . . We give offence when we preach God as the One God, under the one name of God, from whom are all things and on whom the universe depends. Bear then witness thou to this description of God, if thou knowest it to be true. For thee too we hear saying openly, at home and abroad, with a freedom denied to us, *May God grant it, and If God wills it*. In such like words dost thou declare there is some God and makest confession of His Omnipotence to whose will thou dost appeal ; and at the same time thou dost deny the rest of them to be gods in that thou callest them by their proper names, Saturn, Jove, Mars, Minerva. . . . Thou affirmest also that He alone is God whom alone thou callest by the name of God. . . . Neither art thou ignorant of the nature of God whom we preach ; *God is good* is thine own expression.†

Many Fathers go even further still. In teaching that the

* De Spectac., c. 2.

† De testimon. animæ c. i. 7.

existence of God can be deduced from His works they seem so to exaggerate the facility and universality of the deduction as to reduce it almost to a simple intuition. They speak of this knowledge as "innate." Tertullian says:—

Evidence of a soul *naturally* Christian! The soul's consciousness of God from the beginning is a *gift*.*

And John Damascene:—

Not, however, in ignorance of Himself, utter and entire, hath God suffered us to be wrapped. For there is no man alive in whom the knowledge of God hath not been *naturally* implanted.†

Not of course that the word "innate" is used in the Kantian sense of "subjective form," nor yet in that of the School of "Innate Ideas." The word is a rhetorical exaggeration to express the simple, easy, and almost imperceptible process of reasoning which leads up to the knowledge of God. That the Fathers never meant to deny that there is some process of reasoning, and therefore an *acquisition* of this knowledge, the foregoing citations amply prove. "Innate" therefore in this patristic sense is opposed, not to "acquired," but rather to that reflex, philosophical knowledge begotten of study and meditation, and especially to that fuller, surer, and more perfect knowledge of God imparted to the world by supernatural revelation.

The teaching then of patristic theology touching the value of the arguments for God's existence is most emphatic and unmistakable. The Fathers declare the knowledge of God to be accessible to all men, to be easily acquired, to be all but innate; and for the agnostic they can hardly find strong enough words of condemnation. Their teaching then reiterates, explains, and developes the teaching of Holy Writ.

Moreover precisely the same doctrine is inculcated by the great Doctors and Theologians, by the Franciscan Bonaventure,‡ by the Dominican Aquinas,§ by the Jesuit Suarez.|| St. Thomas stigmatises the opposite opinion as "falsity and error."

And last of all the teaching formulated in Scripture, elabo-

* "Apol." c. 17.

† "Fid. Orthod." I. 1.

‡ "In. Sent." 1.3.2. § "Cont. Gent." 1, 12. || "Metaph." D. 27. S.3.

rated by the Fathers, explained by the Doctors of the Church and defended by her Theologians, is enunciated also in the Councils. The Vatican Council defined as follows:—

Holy Mother Church holds and teaches that God—Beginning and End of all things—can, through created things, be known, with certainty, by the natural light of human reason. *For the invisible things of Him, &c.* (Rom. I. 20.)

And again in the first canon appended to the chapter of which the above is part:—

If anyone should say that God—One and True, our Creator and Lord—cannot be known, with certainty, by the things that are made, through the natural light of human reason, let him be anathema.

It will hardly be denied that these two dogmatic declarations are to the point. Short, clear-cut, unambiguous, they clinch the argument and leave no margin for cavil or evasion. As far as Catholics are concerned they have given the deathblow to Traditionalism and Supernaturalism. These opinions are now formally heretical.

And now we have the theological evidence before us on which to ground a judgment as to whether or not an agnostic can, in his Agnosticism, be conscientious and in good faith. But first let us put the issue simply and clearly. Let us put aside complicating and subordinate considerations. We are not, then, here debating at what age the full use of reason is reached and the obligation incurred of acknowledging God. We do not here deny there may be individuals, or even whole nations, so brutalised and degraded as to be adult indeed in body, but dwarfed and stunted in mind below the normal stature of man, and thus exempt from the responsibilities of men. Nor do we here enter on the further enquiry whether for a brief period after reaching the full use of reason a man can, without sin, be ignorant of God. But let the question be limited to this. Does theology recognize the possibility that a man can be in good faith who disbelieves in God, with open eyes and after consideration, and that actually and at heart and for a considerable time; in a society such as we know it;

* "Const." I. c., 2.

in a society which affords a great variety of aids and helps, human and divine, external and internal, to acquire a knowledge of God; where he has consciously before him the order, beauty, and design of the universe; where he is impelled by introspection, or by self-examination, or by wonder, or by terror, or by penury, or by sickness, or by danger, or by sorrow, or by qualms of conscience to propose to himself these questions: "Where did this universe spring from?" "Who and what am I?" "Whence came I?" "Whither am I going?" What then is the verdict of theology on the good faith of such an atheist, or—to use the fashionable jargon—of such an agnostic, for new agnostic is but old atheist writ large? And what degrees of sympathy does theology allow us to extend to the unbeliever who declares he has not sufficient data to argue to God's existence, but proclaims:—

There is nothing irrational in contending that the evidences of Theism are inconclusive, that its doctrines are unintelligible, or that it fails to account for the facts of the universe or is irreconcilable with them.*

The verdict of theology on such an one is undoubtedly an unqualified condemnation. The Scriptures condemn him. The Doctors concur in the condemnation. All the great theologians emphasize the condemnation. The Fathers condemn and upbraid him. The Councils condemn and anathematize him. He may plead "not guilty," but the plea is disallowed. His advocate may ransack the heavens above and the earth beneath for "extenuating circumstances," but they are waived aside as fictitious. In neither Testament, Old or New, is there any trace or shadow of excuse to be found for him. Not a word of it in the long catena of the Fathers. No mention of it in the Doctors. No faint allusion to it in the carefully qualified decisions of the Church. In the Old Testament "all men are nought in whom there is ignorance of God . . . unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead . . . they are not to be pardoned." The New Testament on this head reproduces and enforces the teaching of the Old. The Sophists of Greece and the philosophers of Rome, when they ignored God, "professing themselves to be wise, became fools,"

* "Huxley's Hume." I. 60.

for in reality "they knew God but glorified him not as God, nor gave him thanks, but became vain in their thoughts and their foolish heart was darkened."

Brief had been the sentence pronounced in "Wisdom" on all unbelievers; "they are not to be pardoned." Equally pithy is that pronounced by St. Paul "they are inexcusable." The Fathers concur. To Augustine a man who knows not God has "a warped and distorted nature:" to Gregory Nazianzen he is "a dullard and a driveller": to Cyprian and Tertullian he is "the crown and summit of wickedness."* Finally the Church, cautious to a degree and ever slow to condemn, confirms the verdict by its declaration and anathema.

So much then for the speculative aspect of Agnosticism. A word now on its practical side. Does theology allow that an agnostic can save his soul? Again the answer must be an emphatic negative. A natural and certain knowledge of God is a necessary condition, preliminary, and foundation of faith, and without faith there is no salvation. An absolutely essential condition of the credibility of faith is God's existence; for faith is assent to God's word and how can there be supernatural assent to the word of one of whose existence we are not naturally certain? That faith is a prerequisite of salvation is a primary truth of Christianity; "Without faith it is impossible to please God. But he that cometh to God must believe that He is."†

But, it will be asked, may there not be, if not a supernatural, at least a natural beatitude for the agnostic who observes faithfully all the precepts of the natural law? If he can have no part in the Beatific Vision, can never be an "adopted son of God," can never "see God face to face," may he not at least expect a share in the happiness of those who, though never raised by sanctifying grace to the supernatural order, yet at the same time have never offended God by a grievous and deliberate violation of the law of natural morality? May not the agnostic of pure life expect after death to enjoy a place at least, in the Limbo of unbaptized infants? Again the

* Tertul. Apol. c. 17: Cyprian De Idol Vanit. c. 9.

† Heb. 11. 6.

answer can only be in the negative. For the adult—adult in mind as in body—there is no middle place between Hades and Heaven. The question is based on a false supposition. To be an agnostic is, in itself, by the very fact, the most grievous of all violations of the Moral Law. For the primary precept of the Natural Law is to recognise the existence of the Lawgiver and “it is the very zenith and apex of depravity not to know Him whom thou canst not ignore.”* God wills all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth,† And hence He, of necessity, gives to each the graces natural and supernatural to acquire that knowledge. Whoso therefore neglects this will of God commits grievous sin and shuts himself out from all reward, natural or supernatural.

Whether agnostics are to be taken at their word and regarded as men who in the main do keep the Commandments, and live moral and upright lives, is a question which this is not the place to discuss.‡ A theologian would probably say that as, in practice, so few men constantly observe the law of God even when helped by the more abundant graces given to believers, it becomes morally and practically impossible to keep it for any length of time without that assistance. It is needless to say that as to the state of conscience of this or that individual we have no right at any time to hazard conjectures. Each is answerable, in his own heart, to God alone. But by agnostics as a body, in the general, and viewed precisely as agnostics, the words of St. Paul, in the chapter quoted so often, deserve to be carefully pondered. Writing of a state of society so nearly akin to our own, of the Romans of the age of Nero, learned, cultured, and unbelieving, he says:—

And as they liked not to have God in their knowledge, God delivered them up to a reprobate sense, to do those things which are not convenient.

What these “inconvenient things” were a reference to the chapter will show. And this “reprobate sense” the Apostle describes precisely as a consequence of their sin of unbelief:—

“Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart, &c.

* St. Cyprian quoted above. † I. Tim. 2. 4.

‡ F. Kleutgen, a theologian of broad and liberal views, says:—“The knowledge of God is so easily acquired, and so certain that ignorance or doubt on the subject cannot be explained except as springing from *guilty frivolity or arrogant obstinacy*.” *Philosophie der Vorzeit*, vol. i., n. 227.

And again :—

They served the creature rather than the Creator. *For this cause* God delivered them up to shameful affections, &c.

They "liked not to have God in their knowledge," and on that account were "delivered up to a reprobate sense." They were abandoned to the "evil desires of their heart," and they fell into the sensualism of despair. And how could it, logically, be otherwise? For if there be no God, no moral law, no obligations, no sanctions, no eternity of punishment or reward, it is hard to see what else than self-indulgence an agnostic has to care for. His life, at best, can be but very dreary—a mere desert of despair. And he must serve,—man is made to serve—if not the Creator, then the creature. The agnostic replies that he serves his race, lives for the improvement of his race! And what a will-o'-the-wisp this improvement of his race is! John Stuart Mill had set up this Jack-o'-lantern as his guiding star in life, and think how he wrote of it in his Autobiography, with what cynicism and bitterness of disappointment! "Suppose," he once said to himself, "all your objects in life were realised, that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to could be completely effected at this very instant, would this be a great joy and happiness to you? And an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered, No."* If man, or Mankind—the Grand-*être* of Auguste Comte—be the highest attainable object of human hopes and human aspirations, what greater misery than to be haunted by visions of what is better and nobler than man; by glimpses of a truth and goodness and beauty never to be possessed; by strivings after an object which neither earth nor humanity can bestow? If these ideals are a dream, and these longings a delusion, intangible shadows never to be grasped either here or hereafter, there are but two conclusions open to us; either the hopeless and degrading conclusion of German Pessimism that life is a bad thing and cannot too soon be made away with; or that gayer and more popular conclusion—adopted by the Romans about whom St. Paul wrote—that there is nothing better for us than to frolic through life, sipping the passing pleasure of the

* Autob. 133.

hour, in the mood of that Epicurean singer who, having set his heart in turn on wealth, on love, on war, on travel, and on sounding fame, and having tasted the insipidity of them all, concluded—with an older and a greater singer than himself—that they are all vanity and affliction of spirit:—

Now I've set my heart upon nothing you see;

Hurrah!

And the whole wide world belongs to me;

Hurrah!

The feast begins to run low no doubt,

But at the old cask we'll have one good bout,

Come, drink the lees all out.*

Among the ancient Egyptians there flourished a custom, described by Herodotus† in some such words as these. When a banquet was well advanced and the appetite of the guests was cloyed with abundant meat and their thirst slaked from goodly stores of wine and the revel ran high, a slave entered and carried round to each feaster in turn an open coffin wherein lay a wooden figure carved and painted to represent a corpse; and pointing to this counterfeit presentment he whispered into each reveller's ear, "*Looking on this, drink and be merry; such in death shalt thou become.*"

And not only the worshipper of Isis but the prophet of the Old Law,‡ and the apostle of the New,§ ask of the unbeliever what happiness in life there can be for him except that very mournful *drink and be merry*. The author of "*Wisdom*,"|| with his keen insight into human nature, has summed up in the same sense the Epicurean reasonings of unbelievers:—

They said, reasoning with themselves, but not right, the time of our life is short and tedious and in the end of a man there is no remedy....for we are born of nothing, and after this we shall be as if we had not been; for the breath in our nostrils is smoke; and speech is a spark...which being put out, our body shall be ashes and our spirit shall be poured abroad as soft air, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist which is driven away by the beams of the sun. And our name in time shall be forgotten and no man shall have any remembrance of our works. For our time is as the passing of a shadow.....

* Goethe's *Song of Life*. † Euterpe 78. ‡ Isaias 22, 13; 56, 12.

§ 1 Cor. 15, 32. || II 1-9.

Come, therefore, and let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the creatures as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine...and let not the flower of the time pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with roses before they are withered...Let none of us go without his part in luxury; let us everywhere leave tokens of joy. For this is our portion and this is our lot.

St. Paul told the Corinthians:—

If in this life only we have hope in Christ we are of all men most miserable.*

For the agnostic who has hope neither in Christ nor in God, neither in this life nor in the life to come, these lines of the poet Fletcher aptly point the moral of his existence:—

The word's a labyrinth where unguided men
Walk up and down to find their weariness.
No sooner have they measured with much toil
The crooked path, with hope to gain their freedom,
But it betrays them to a new affliction.†

CHARLES COUPE, S. J.

* 1 Cor. 15, 9. † The Night-Walker, 4, 6.

SPANISH SOCIETY IN MODERN FICTION.

1. *Pequeñeces*. Por el Padre Luis Coloma. S.J. Cuarta Edicion. Bilbao, 1891.
2. *El P. Coloma y la Aristocracia*. Por Fray Candil. (Emilio Bobadilla) Madrid, 1891.
3. *Marianela*. Por Benito Perez-Galdós. Madrid, 1888.
4. *La Hermana San Sulpicio*. Por Armando Palacio Valdes. Madrid, 1889.

IN no country in Europe has literature, from its earliest dawn to the present day, been so exclusively and characteristically national as in Spain. The dictum of a French traveller that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," sorely as it wounded Spanish susceptibility, rests on a foundation of truth in so far as those mountains have effectually excluded Northern thought from exercising any appreciable influence on the peculiar course of culture in the Peninsula. The Arab element on the other hand which was the main factor in its evolution, entered too largely into the formation of the national character to be reckoned as in any sense a foreign one.

Neither did the possession of a vast Transatlantic dominion react perceptibly on the genius of the Iberian people. The latter did not, like their neighbours, celebrate their discovery and conquest of a new region of the globe in a great national epic. Their mighty empire of "Ultramar," or beyond sea, has little place in their poetry or letters, and the adoption of his language in a new hemisphere has given no cosmopolitan expansion to the Spaniard's views of life. So completely, indeed, does he regard his oversea kinsfolk as without the range of his exclusive national sympathies, that while the descendants of Spanish colonists and returned emigrants from South America still term themselves Spaniards, they are, among the Spaniards at home, known only as "Indians."

Thus while the literatures of England and North America are, despite political separation, inseparably intertwined in mutual action and reaction, political union, maintained down to the present century, has given no unity of thought to the ocean-parted branches of the Spanish race.

But this very isolation, intensifying, while narrowing the sympathies, gives Spanish literature a special value, as the most direct expression of national manners and thought. The unadulterated outcome of native genius, cut off from the infiltration of extrinsic ideas, and unmodified by the modern hybridisation of opinion, has a special interest far higher than that pertaining to the mongrel productions of globe-trotted brains. Thus while the national manners of Spain have, by an almost unique exception in literature, been reproduced with incomparable fidelity by a foreign romancer (Le Sage) Spanish genius has preferred to seek its raw material of human nature among its own compatriots. To the modern fiction of the Peninsula we may therefore fairly trust as a guide to its manners, and accept the authors approved by the general consensus of their fellow-countrymen as the authorised limners of the national physiognomy.

Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the two rival schools of romance have struggled for precedence, although the inevitable conflict between old and new set in at a later date than beyond the Pyrenees. The battle between the champions of realism and idealism, begun in Spain about 1875, resulted there too, in the decisive victory of the former. Their leaders for the last ten years have been the two authors who may be said during this recent period, to have directed the modern evolution of Spanish fiction.

Benito Perez-Galdós and Armando Palacio Valdes are the names which come most readily to Spanish lips in answer to enquiries as to their contemporary novelists,—since Juan Valera, although successful in the same field, is more active in that of general literature and criticism. Perez-Galdós, whose name, like that of many of his compatriots, is a combination of those of both parents, is a native of the Canary Islands, having been born at Las Palmas in 1845. He came to Madrid to pursue a legal career, and took his degree in 1869 as licentiate of civil and canon law. But his true bent was not slow to declare itself, and a series of critical essays on music and art, contributed to the pages of the "*Revista de España*," procured him the post of editor of that periodical. His first novel, "*La Fontana de Oro*," so entitled from the name of a well-known club in Madrid, published in 1870, was followed

at no long interval by a second, "El Audaz." The production of a long series of historical novels, in form and idea resembling those of Erckmann-Chatrian, was his next task. These ten volumes, under the generic name of "Episodios Nacionales," are filled by the fictitious autobiography of Gabriel Lopes, who, beginning life in domestic service, acts as page to a retired naval officer, a fashionable actress, and a lady of rank, successively. The romantic part of his career consists of his long attachment and eventful marriage to the daughter of his last employer, originally met by him as a working girl earning her bread in his own class of life, while undergoing one of those temporary eclipses of fortune to which heroines are liable. True love does not, under these circumstances escape the impediments which the adage declares its inevitable penalty, and the hero meantime serves in the army, rising from the ranks to its higher grades, and presenting to the reader the various phases of the Peninsular War, seen by the light of his experiences.

The second series of the "episodes," consisting, like the first, of ten volumes, begins with the expulsion of Joseph Bonaparte, and carries on the subsequent events and revolutions of Spanish history. The tales of this set are, however, less connected in subject, as autobiographical form being abandoned as the vehicle of narration. It was not till 1881 that the author definitely went over to the ranks of the realists, his change of literary belief being dated from the publication of his novel "La Desheredada." His later works may therefore be taken as samples of the Spanish rendering of the doctrines of this school, although he is sometimes their exponent from the political rather than the social side of life. Thus "El Grande Oriente," published by him in 1885, turns on the complications of plots and secret societies in Madrid in 1821, and while young a striking picture of the subservience to popular dictation even in the administration of justice of the government of that day, has no special value as a delineation of domestic manners.

It is in this respect far surpassed in interest by the author's "Marianella," a charming tale of rural life printed in 1888. Here we are transported into the artificial desolation of a mineral country, as the scene is laid among the labyrinthine

mazes and yawning pits of the mines of Socrates in Northern Spain. In this lurid setting is played out a pathetic little drama with a blind man, the son of parents in easy circumstances, and his girl guide, born in a somewhat lower rank of life, as its principal characters. "Nela" or "Marianela," now approaching womanhood, has been from her childhood the devoted companion of the afflicted youth, supplying with quick vision and descriptive speech for the sense sealed to him, and cheering with a song like a linnet's the dreary darkness of his days. Despite his great misfortune, they are happy in an acknowledged mutual attachment, when the chance visit of a skilful oculist to the mines brings about a change in their relative positions. The young man's blindness is pronounced curable and the operation is successfully performed, but with a melancholy result for the poor little heroine. On the removal of the bandage, his eyes, when instinctively turned to seek his guide, fall, not on the faithful Nela, to whom nature has been niggardly of personal attractions, but on a beautiful girl whom he addresses by her name. The charms that flash on his dazzled gaze with the first ray of newly perceived light, are irresistible to his enfranchised nature, and with all his appreciations of life transformed by the intoxicating revelations of the restored sense, he transfers his affections to their new object unrestrained by gratitude or good faith. For Nela, deprived of the sole occupation and aim of her existence, there remains but to die, and pass away from a world in which she seemed no longer wanted. The plot is not a new one, as the same idea has already formed the groundwork of more than one romance, but the novelty of the scene in which it is laid, and the descriptive power and grace of style of the author have here invested it with fresh interest. It has attained to great popularity in Spain, and will probably survive his more elaborate historical works. In politics a liberal conservative, Galdós has given a rare example of disinterestedness, in never seeking place or office from any party. He leads a retired life, devoted to study and the prosecution of his literary avocations.

Almost identical with his has been the career of his competitor, the second typical writer on Spanish domestic manners. Born at Entralgo, a village in the Asturias, on October 4th, 1853,

Armando Palacio Valdes came, too, to Madrid to study law, and soon, too, abandoned it for literature. His *début* was made in the "Revista Europea," to which he contributed a number of brilliant critical and political articles, both before and after becoming its editor. His first novel, "El Señorito Octavia," published in 1881, was followed in 1883, by "Marta y Maria," one of the most familiarly known of his works. A brief interlude of domestic happiness here broke in on his literary career, for he married in that year a girl of sixteen, who died at the end of eighteen months of wedded life, leaving him an infant son as a remembrance. Since his bereavement, he has been a more industrious worker even than before, producing a novel regularly every year. Thus "Jose," "Riverita," "Maximina," "El Cuarto Poder," "La Hermana San Sulpicio," and "La Espuma," followed each other in annual succession from 1885 to 1890.

Two of these, "El Cuarto Poder," and "La Hermana San Sulpicio," are especially relevant to our present subject, since they aim at the representation of provincial society in Spain, under the title of "Novelas de Costumbres." The scene of the first is laid in a northern seaport, in which Santander may be identified under the name of Sarrió. The story is not altogether a pleasing one, as it turns on a painful subject of the rivalry of two sisters, one of whom supplants the other in her lover's affections, and in their subsequent married life makes him pay dearly for his faithlessness. The course of the narrative is frequently interrupted by episodes illustrative of local middle class society, with all its pettiness, triviality, and hopelessly low level of thought and feeling. Realism is here unredeemed by by any imaginative exaltation, and only in the character of Cecilia, the forsaken bride of the worthless hero, is there any touch of sentiment to relieve the commonplace detail of prosaic existences.

A subject lending itself better to romantic idealisation is that of "La Hermana San Sulpicio," the author's novel of Andalusian manners. The heroine is, as the title implies, a nun, but there is no breach of her religious vows involved in her appearance in that capacity. The story opens when the date at which they are terminable is approaching, and she does not accept the hero's addresses until she has exchanged her conventual garb

for one more befitting the part she plays in the story. Her introduction to worldly life takes place, indeed, while she still wears the habit, at a spa whither she has accompanied a Reverend Mother in quest of health. Here she is thrown into the company of a young man, Ceferino Sanjurjo, whose medical knowledge serves as an introduction, and on whose heart her innocent gaiety and Andasian *espièglerie* of manner make an instantaneous and ineffaceable impression. Finding, on following her to Seville, that her mother, under the influence of a designing man of business, is seeking to compel her to renew her vows in order to retain control of her inheritance, he brings counter-influences to bear by which this intrigue is frustrated and her liberty secured for the time. Then begins an Andalusian courtship, carried on, according to immemorial usage, by nocturnal conversations through the lady's window-grating, the scene in Seville of all lovers' vows. The happy ending of this romantic wooing is delayed by various checks and disappointments—at first by an unreasoning fit of jealousy on the part of Gloria, the worldly name of the ex-sister, and afterwards by the renewed opposition of her family, taking the form of an attempt, thwarted by Ceferino, to seclude her forcibly in the convent. When all these obstacles have been duly overcome the curtain falls on the felicity of the united lovers.

The movement and life of Seville and the characteristics of its heterogeneous population, form the background on which the drama of courtship is relieved. A native of Galicia, in Northern Spain, the hero receives from the southern capital impressions as novel and lively as though he were a denizen of another country, and the scenery and setting familiar to us in northern books of travel, are freshly realised through their aspect in Spanish eyes. The street life of Seville, too, is here brought before us in its summer phase, rarely seen by foreign visitors, but far more distinctive of the semi-Eastern city than its winter tranquility. The *patios*, or courts, on which the rooms of the houses open in Oriental fashion, are the family habitation in the hot months, and these open air drawing-rooms, roofed with awnings, decorated with plants and shrubs, furnished with sofas, chairs, and tables, and lit with lamps, are the scene of the *tertulias*, or evening receptions, which are the principal social institution of the south. That of the

Anguita family, to whom the hero is presented on his arrival, furnishes a characteristic tableau of Andalusian manners, the unconventional frankness of which is indicated by the familiarity with which the young ladies of the house address the newly-introduced guest by his adorned patronymic, as "Sanjurjo." The vivacious interchange of pleasantries on all subjects, the unfolding dramas of flirtation and jealousy, the sharp personalities of a circle where all the *habitués* and intimacy has rubbed off the restrictions of more general society form here a perfect photograph of the middle-class life of a southern population.

Equally characteristic are the street scenes, and the vignettes of interiors caught from outside. This absence of indoor privacy is illustrated, for the benefit of the Galician visitor, by an impromptu dialogue between a young lady playing the piano in her drawing-room and a working woman passing by the window. The latter calls to the girl, and when she turns round to ask what she wants, simply replies: "Nothing, Senorita, only that I admired your back so much, I wanted to see what your face was like."

"And what do you think my face like, now that you have seen it?" asks the young lady.

"Like a rosebud, my heart," is the reply, to which compliment the damsel replies with an ejaculation of thanks before returning to her interrupted occupation. The doubt may possibly suggest itself to the unromantic northern mind, whether intercourse with casual passers-by would always be of so agreeable a character, and whether the free criticism of the street on the interior would often be so flattering to the self-love of the inmates.

The hero describes as follows the impression made on him by the nocturnal aspect of Seville, with its lamp-lit effects of light and shade constantly changing like the slides of a magic lantern.

The nights were hot and stifling, and when I did not go to the Anguitas, I amused myself strolling about the city waiting for eleven o'clock, dragging my feet with slow and languid steps. Walking at that hour through the alleys of Seville was the same as visiting the interior of the houses, as the families and their evening visitors were assembled in the *patios*, which were clearly visible through the gratings. I could see the girls in

their light dresses, their black hair in plaits adorned with bright-coloured flowers, swinging in their rocking-chairs, while their admirers, unceremoniously astride on their chairs, conversed with them in undertones or cooled them with their fans. Their exclamations, their laughter, their piquant phrases, were distinctly audible. In some *patios* there was guitar-playing, and they sang joyous *malaquenas*, or sentimental airs with melancholy long-drawn notes, chorussed by the applause and clapping of the company. In others, one or two pairs of girls danced *seguidillas*, while the castanets rattled with a merry click, and the profiles of the dancers passed and re-passed before the grating, their attitudes now haughty, now languishing and yielding, but always alluring and full of seductive promises. These were what might be called the traditional *patios*. Others were modern or modernised, and there fashionable waltzes, or the best known airs of the farces last brought out in Madrid, were played on the piano, or *Vorrei Morir*, the *Stella Confidente*, or some of the other pieces composed by Italians for the recreation of middle class families were sung. Lastly there were others of a mysterious aspect, silent and apparently mournful, where the light was dimly shaded, but where, looking intently, in the twilight under the foliage of the trees, a pair of lovers might be discerned carrying on their courtship.

The writer gives a lurid picture of another phase of Andalusian life in his description of one of the haunts of the heroes and habitués of the bull ring, where aristocratic patrons of vice mix with the lowest dregs of the populace under the levelling influence of a common depravity. The orgie in the low restaurant, with its fraternity of disreputable dancers and musicians, bullfighters, ex-bandits, and *roués* noblemen, recalls the scenes painted on some Spanish fans, and is evidently a veracious presentment of this side of Andalusian manners.

Senor Valdes' last novel "*La Espuma*," (Troth) translated into English in Heinemann's series, with a preface by Mr. Gosse, is illustrative of upper class life in Madrid, where the moral tone seems to be so much on a level with that of the section of society last described as to afford a fresh confirmation of the truth that "extremes meet." Into these exalted circles we prefer, however, to penetrate in company with another guide, whose testimony to the same effect is even more emphatic and authoritative.

The publication last winter of a novel entitled "*Pequeñeces*" (Trifles), by the well-known Jesuit writer, Father Louis Coloma, created an extraordinary sensation from its uncompromising frankness in holding up to the contempt and

reprobation of the public the follies and vices of the upper ten thousand in the Spanish capital. It called forth a shower of comment in pamphlets, letters, reviews, and newspaper articles written in answer to or in criticism on it. None have, however, impugned the accuracy of the picture presented by its pages which agrees, too, in its main outlines with that drawn by Señor Valdes in his novel on the same theme. One of its commentators, "Fray Candil," in the pamphlet included in our headings, begins as follows, his essay on the scope and character of the Jesuit's work :—

This novel has been the subject of much discussion, not only among the confraternity of the pen, but also among those outside the world of letters. The unprecedented *succès de scandale* achieved by "Pequeñeces," is due, in my opinion, setting aside its artistic merit, to the fact that the author is a Jesuit, and that the Spanish aristocracy is ridiculed with pungent satire in his work.

High life in the capital with all its pomp and vices during the period of the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, furnishes the social ambient of the novel. According to the dictum of those best informed, Padre Coloma narrates with such accuracy this period of the history of Spain, that some of its survivors have fancied themselves alluded to in his pages. Many suppose, indeed, and as it seems to us not without foundation, that "Pequeñeces" is a novel with a key, despite the author's care to state in a note that his personages are not portraits of definite individuals.

This remarkable book is, as its critics agree at once a veracious historical study, and a satire on manners, written with full knowledge of the subject by a keen and coldly analytical observer. His attitude towards human nature is that of a student of its workings from the outside, unmoved himself by the follies and infirmities he lays bare, as is the surgeon, who with the dissecting knife, points out to his attentive audience the seat of the disease that has undermined the subject's life. He is, in this respect, compared by his commentators to Balzac, who, as they say, incessantly follows his *dramatis personæ* with explanatory digressions on their motives and conduct. Unimpassioned as the recording angel, the Jesuit writer develops his sinister theme in a series of highly characteristic situations, in which the background of vice from which they spring is suggested and implied without being presented in detail. The world on which he turns for us the light of his incisive genius is the roughly corrupt, with-

out even the exaltation of passion to palliate its disorders. Vanity, self-love, idleness, and the craving of jaded minds for some fresh stimulus to emotion, are impelling forces imparting quite sufficient momentum to urge his vicious team down the headlong slope to perdition.

The brazen-fronted cynicism of a society acquiescent in all evil could scarcely be carried farther than in the visits of condolence paid to the Condesa de Albornoz on the death of Juan Velarde, and in the mourning, carefully graduated to the last shade of becomingness, publicly worn by her on that occasion. It is against this general complicity in guilt on the part even of those personally untainted with it, that Padre Coloma's poignant satire is directed, in the hope that it may rouse the collective conscience to some sense of responsibility, if that of the individual wrong-doer be beyond his influence. In the prologue addressed to the readers of his work, he describes, as follows, his motive for choosing so painful a theme:—

And if you wonder, perhaps, that I, being, who I am, venture with such boldness on so hazardous a theme, you must take into account that in the guise of a novelist I am only a missionary, and that as in bygone times an itinerant friar, jumping on a table in any place of public resort, preached there the most homely truths to idlers who would never enter the temple, addressing them in their own rude language the better to reach their understandings, so I set up my preaching booth in the pages of a novel, and thence discourse to those who would listen to me in no other fashion, telling them in their own language obvious and necessary truths which could never be pronounced under the sacred roof of a church.

He adds that though the Spanish "*Messenger of the Sacred Heart*," in which the tale first appeared, is intended primarily for the pious and devout, it also falls into the hands of fashionable and worldly folk, for whom so strongly pointed a moral is by no means superfluous. It might have seemed on the other hand, that the subject of "*Pequeñeces*" as an exposition of wickedness in high places, would have unfitted it for production in a periodical destined for all classes of readers, and much of the author's meaning has, consequently to be read, as he says himself, "between the lines." His skill, indeed, in conveying, without defining, the situations introduced is not less wonderful than his command of the dialect and diction of that world of

fashionable frivolity from which his calling places him so far apart. In this respect even hostile critics yield him unstinted praise, comparing him, in his power of endowing his characters with living and appropriate speech, to the greatest masters of Spanish prose.

The dialogue (says "Fray Candil") is indisputably what most fascinates us in "*Pequeñeces*," and this is easily explicable, since it is there that Padre Coloma concentrates his strength in reproducing reality without personal commentary from himself. His conversations, therefore, abound in truth to nature, in spontaneous humour, in vivacity and accuracy of diction. Padre Coloma departs here from the manner of Balzac, to approach, nay, almost to identify himself with that of Alarcon. In the unconstrained, rapid, witty, and natural flow of the dialogue, there is much in common between the authors of "*La Prodigia*," and "*Pequeñeces*." Even in the comic and slangy strain in which most of the chapters of the latter terminate, I find a certain similarity between Alarcon and Coloma. Let those who differ from me recall the most racy scenes in "*El Sombrero de tres Picos*," and compare them with others in "*Pequeñeces*." That this is so, is due to the fact that in P. Coloma, as in Alarcon, the satirical tendency predominates.

The critic goes on to say that the Jesuit novelist also excels in the plastic portraiture of his types, possessing the power of endowing them with life and movement, without exaggeration of light and shade. This method he describes in the artistic slang of the day as "depicting by impressionism."

The defect of the book as a work of art lies, on the other hand, to a great extent in the nature of its subject, and arises from the absence of any prominent character calculated to excite the sympathy or interest of the reader. Curra Albornoz, on whose doings and misdoings his attention is principally concentrated, is a woman so utterly worthless that polite language is mute for want of an epithet sufficiently vile to characterise her. She and the circle over which, in virtue of her acknowledged leadership of fashion she rules supreme, are morally on a level with the lowest dregs of the populace, undistinguishable from their several types in the criminal classes save for the superficial veneer of French polish that scarcely hides their innate brutality. The men indulge without rebuke in the presence of ladies in the foulest language of the tavern, which is, no doubt, quite good enough for the salons in which

it is uttered. In contrast with these scenes of gilded iniquity, the picture of the forlorn and neglected children of the lady of fashion is drawn with pathetic feeling, while there is tragic force in the realisation of the boy's despair, as he gradually awakens to a perception of his mother's character.

The action opens with a scene from his school life of which the motive is the same, and his sense of desolation at the absence of parental sympathy in his childish triumph in the possession of "five prizes and two certificates," is skilfully made a sort of introduction to the main subject of the plot. The curtain rises in the second chapter on the principal actors, gathered at an afternoon reception in the smoking room of the Duquesa de Bara, one of the social magnates of Madrid. The hostess, under the pretext of headache, lies extended in a *chaise longue*, smoking a cigar of the finest brand, while on her knees, to guard the trimmings of her rich silk dress against injury from the ashes, lies, what is no doubt a useful adjunct to the toilet under such circumstances, "an apron of the finest leather and most fashionable cut." Although tea is served at the Duchess's At Home as a diluent to the cake and sandwiches offered to her visitors, it is rejected by those amongst them with any pretention to *bon ton* in favour of raw whisky, to a third glass of which one of the party has just helped herself. The portly banker's wife, admitted to these exalted circles in right of the mortgages held by her husband on the ducal acres, strives in her elephantine way to imitate the airy *sans gêne* of her aristocratic neighbours, and smiles maternally on her daughter Lucy just from school taking little whiffs out of Angelito Castropardo's cigar. The girl bravely endures coughs and choking fits in her delight at having a grandee of Spain to initiate her into the ways of fashionable life, and seeks to copy in all respects the *chic* of the elder ladies, regarded by her as models of elegance and distinction. All the figures in this group are drawn in vigorous and suggestive outline, from the strong minded spinster, Leopaldina Pastor, to the Marqués de Butron, Minister Plenipotentiary before the revolution, and political intriguer for a restoration, since nicknamed by the ex-Queen Isabella "Robinson Crusoe" from his hairy aspect. The influence of the ladies of the aris-

toocracy is the principal engine set to work to achieve his end, and it is their hostility that has, when the story opens, created a void round the throne, and isolated Don Amadeo of Savoy and his Queen, Maria Victoria, by combined abstention from all court ceremonials. The populace showed [sympathies on the same side in their own fashion, rioting, breaking street lamps, and shouting lampoons and songs in which the reigning monarch was caricatured as "Maceroni the First." The Cortes meanwhile were equally recalcitrant, and a chronic state of ministerial crisis existed, while the speech from the Throne, delivered on April 3rd, remained still unanswered on June 21st. The *salons* of the great ladies were the hotbeds of political intrigue, and the Duchess's visitors, Alfonsists to a woman, were as much startled as if a bomb had burst in their midst, when a new comer, Isabel Mazacan, "with a glance too commanding for an adventuress, too brazen for a great lady," launches upon them the announcement that a First Lady of the Bedchamber has been appointed. Conjecture is immediately rife as to who could have been found to fill the office, for which the rank of Grandee of Spain is an indispensable qualification, and which the feminine cabal had hitherto succeeded in keeping unfilled. Various contemptuous suggestions are made in burlesque of the new dignitary, each vying with the other in ridicule of the idea that it could have been accepted by any lady of position according to their standard.

Isabel Mazacan allowed a malicious smile to curl her lips, like one who savoured in anticipation an expected triumph, presented a glass to Paco Velez that he might fill it with whisky, emptied it at a gulp, and finally launched her missile :—

"Curra Albornoz," she said.

The enormity of the assertion destroyed its effect, an exclamation of general incredulity broke from the lips of all present, and the Duchess, flinging herself back in her chair, exclaimed, "It is a canard!"

It was now Isabel's turn to be indignant, and whilst old Butron tried to hide a sudden start, as if he saw serious danger in the announcement, she cried, much disappointed at the failure of her sensation—

"Well, I declare, I am amazed at the amazement of all of you good people. Why this dismay? When was Curra ever ashamed of anything?"

"But this is a different thing!" replied the Duchess, with the most

naïve candour. "Because the enormity you attribute to her would be worse than a crime; it would be a blunder. Lady of the Bedchamber to the Cisterna.* How ridiculous!"

"But if I tell you I know it on indisputable authority."

"Come, woman, out without fear, for none of us will see anything to blush about," exclaimed Marie Valdivieso, with unmistakable significance, "It was Garcia Gomez who told you."

The other faltered a moment, then, without even blushing for her implied intimacy with the handsome Minister, said at last, "Garcia Gomez did tell me."

"And even if Garcia Gomez told you," exclaimed the Duchess unmoved, "I do not believe it. I should see her in the carriage with the Cisterna first."

"You will come to believe it in time, then, so don't excite yourself," interrupted Isabel Mazacan, with feigned indifference. "Do you remember when Currita was in Paris at the time of the abdication of the Queen? Do you remember that no one thought of inviting her to the ceremony? She took good care not to tell it; but her husband, that Villamelon, who is much more of a *melon* than of a *villa*, let it out, one night in Casa Camponegro. There, you have the right end of the stick. She never forgave the slight, and now wants to pay off the grudge; so wonder to your heart's content. She was not even offered the post; it was she herself who solicited it."

They are still in the heat of the discussion, when they are interrupted by the approach of its subject, as a lady, very small and fragile, with red hair, a freckled skin, and grey eyes so light in colour that, at a distance, they produce the effect of those of a statue, is seen crossing the adjoining room. One of the company immediately rushes to the piano and begins to play the hymn of Doña Maria Victoria, while a young man goes forward to meet the new-comer with a caricature of the stiff military salute of Don Amadeo.

Currita stopped for a moment on the threshold without a change in her mein, which was that of a timid child, an ingenuous school-girl, heard the hymn, saw the attitude of the young man, took in the situation with a single rapid glance; then, suddenly bending her body with exquisite grace in reply to the Amadeist salute, made a deep and stately Court curtsy—to right, to left, in front—in most elegant ridicule of the ceremonious reverence habitual to the Queen, Doña Maria Victoria.

The ambitious Countess has, in point of fact, reverted once more to her old political allegiance, having received the

*The maiden name of the Queen was Pozzo della Cisterna, an ancient and wealthy, but not royal house.

amende from the exiled Queen, in the shape of a much-coveted invitation to be present in Rome at the first communion of the young prince. An adept and mistress in deceit, she has no difficulty in constructing a tale sufficiently plausible to pass muster, and succeeds in perplexing, if not convincing her accusers. Her air of injured innocence, her infantine candour of manner, and her low-toned and musical cadence of voice, all come to the aid of her inimitable effrontery in enabling her to execute with success her difficult feat in political gymnastics.

A still greater degree of cool insolence is required for her interview with the Minister of the reigning monarch, from whom, by a *coup de main* she eventually snatches the letter in which her husband, contrary to her instructions, had formulated in writing her demand for the place in question and the conditions of her acceptance. Her unblushing denial of the transaction is made in the following highly characterising scene with the Minister:—

"At the palace (he begins) there is much displeasure at this." Currita shrugged her shoulders with a pretty grimace, as who should say: "What is this you are telling me?"

"Yes, Madam," continued the Minister, "his Majesty the King is much offended, her Majesty the Queen greatly hurt."

Currita felt inclined to laugh at the pompous air with which the democratic Minister pronounced these sonorous words—Palace—Majesty—King—Queen—which seemed to fill his capacious mouth, and asked with her accustomed suavity:

"Who? The Cisterna?"

The Minister swelled like a bull of Veraguas in whom the *picador* has planted his lance.

"No, Madam," cried he, offended in his dynastic pride, "her Majesty the Queen of Spain, Doña Maria Victoria."

"Dear me!" said Currita, "and what have I to do with the feelings of this lady?"

"What have you to do?" exclaimed the Minister, almost choking, between the heat of the fire and Currita's mocking calm, "Do you think you can solicit the post of Lady of the Bedchamber, and then throw it up the moment it is granted? Is a Queen who is a model of every virtue to be trifled with like this? I would have your ladyship know that the Government has decided to protest energetically!" And the Minister, all discomposed, heated with gout and passion, red as a beet-root, with both hands propped on their respective knees, fixed his fishy eyes on Currita, as if he meant to swallow her at one mouthful. She, however, nothing

daunted by the bellowing of "Apis the Bull" (his nickname in society), sat up a little straighter, and much astonished and offended, and with her light eyes always fixed on space, began to say with an accent of grief in her sweet low voice:

"But, Martinez, for heaven's sake do not excite yourself so. There must be some mystification in this, some misunderstanding, to make a man of your Excellency's talent talk so wildly. I, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Cister—I mean to Doña Victoria? Who has put this idea into your head?"

"You yourself, my lady Countess, your ladyship's self!" cried the Minister, "Will you dare to deny in presence of the Minister of Ultramar, that you solicited the office of Lady of the Bedchamber, on condition that that of Secretary to the King was given to Velarde, and to your ladyship a salary of six thousand duros?"

"I certainly will deny it," replied Currita, with all her customary aplomb.

"You will?" Then we will see if your ladyship's husband will also deny it, when all the newspapers in Madrid publish this paper."

And he flourishes before her eyes the letter of her half-witted husband, reading aloud to her its fatally compromising phrases. It is while engaged in this performance that the lady executes her strategic movement, snatching from him, while off his guard, the incriminating document, and burning it before his eyes, while exclaiming in mocking repetition of his prescription for her feigned headache on his first entry, "Come, come, Martinez, you ought really to put on two potato plaisters, they are very cooling!"

The wily lady, having thus baffled her adversary, weaves a fresh web of intrigue in order to recover with her own party the ground she has lost by the rumour of her tergiversations. An anonymous letter written by herself to the police, indicating her house as the centre of a Bourbonist plot, causes it to be searched for papers, with the result of investing her with the aureola of political martyrdom.

Thus she achieves a sort of apotheosis, figuring as the heroine of one of those feminine demonstrations which aimed at effecting a counter-revolution by "strokes" of the fan." This form of agitation, seemingly a harmless one, consisted in the abandonment by the ladies of the usual fashionable drive, for one to another place of resort, whither they repaired attired in the national costume, and displaying in some ostentatious fashion

the symbolical lily of the Bourbons. Our author describes the scene as follows :—

At half-past six that evening not a single carriage was to be seen in the *Retiro* or the park, while hundreds crossed at full trot the *Paseo de Recoletos*, already crowded with people, and followed each other in a confused throng to the Fuente Castellana. Never did Vienna hurrying to the Prater, Berlin to the Linden, or Paris to the *Bois*, present a spectacle so characteristic and so picturesque as that offered at sunset by that immense avalanche of luxurious vehicles, most of them open, crowded with women of all types, of all ages, in bright coloured costumes, with black or white mantillas, high combs, and flowers in their hair, in their dresses, in their hands, on the seats and doors of their carriages, on the head-stalls of the horses and on the liveries of the coachmen. Carriages, horses, mules, harness, laces, liveries, coachmen with erected whips, lackeys with folded arms, mingled there in an undistinguishable throng without crowding on each other, while the senses were bewildered by the jingling of harness, the cracking of whips, the odours of spring and perfumes of the toilette, the fragrance of fresh-gathered lily of the valley, of lilac, lilies and violets, all veiled as if in a vapour, by a cloud of fine, luminous dust, and irradiated by splendid effects of light, as the reflection of the setting sun, penetrating through the foliage of the trees, kindled flames like those of a conflagration in the silver-plating of the harness, the buttons of the liveries, and the metal mountings of the carriages.

The central figure of this animated scene is the Countess of Albornoz, who appears in a magnificent landau drawn by a pair of high-stepping bays, wearing a yellow dress with a black mantilla, while her companion is attired in red with a white mantilla, the national colours being thus shared between them. The costume of both ladies is completed by high tortoise-shell combs, and quantities of white and scarlet pinks in their hair and dresses. At each wheel rides a group of gentlemen by way of bodyguard, and all the ladies greet the occupants of the carriage as it passes with a rain of flowers or an enthusiastic flourish of handkerchiefs.

The police, meanwhile, look calmly on at this parade of Alfonsist enthusiasm, and the fair rebels, half wondering at their own successful audacity, feel like naughty children organising a revolt under the eyes of their teachers. But an astute minister of Don Amedeo has devised a means of quashing the demonstration more crushing than any form of forcible repression. The exorcising influence is brought to bear in the shape of a carriage drawn by four white horses, turned out

with an exaggeration of the splendour of those already present, which now takes its place amongst them, and in which, decked out in mantillas and castellated combs in caricature of their own finery, the politicians in petticoats recognise to their horror two of the notorieties of Madrid—who are not noble. The effect is as magical as the transformation of an harlequinade, the carriages vanish as rapidly as the fairy equipage of Cinderella, and so ends, in an ingnomorious collapse, a scene which the author in a note declares to be absolutely historical.

The most tragical incident in the tale, which would have been more effective if less hurriedly narrated, arises out of the visit of the police to the Countess of Abornoz's palace, and the piquant comments in the newspapers of the opposite party on the revelations contained in a packet of letters she had forgotten to remove. In the rage of wounded vanity she selects as her champion Juan Velarde, an unhappy young man, who, fresh from a pious country home, had been swept into the gilded meshes of her train, to fall as the victim of her self-love in a duel with a newspaper editor. The ethical lesson of his career would have been more telling if less obviously intended, since his transitory appearance on the scene is too much of a lay figure inartistically labelled with a moral. Curra appears at the opera in half mourning in his honour, and having accidentally taken up a glove of each colour, wears them in a sort of bravado, and so sets the fashion of this bizarre addition to a magpie toilet.

The scene next shifts to Paris, whither, on the breaking out of the revolution that drove King Amadeo from the throne, all the Spanish aristocracy have repaired, to rally round the still exiled scions of Bourbon royalty. Here a new and striking character appears upon the stage in the person of a dissipated nobleman, Jacobo Tellez-Ponce, in right of his wife Marqués de Sabadell, since the lady in Spain conveys her rank and dignity to her spouse.* A mere adventurer, without character or principle, a trafficker in revolution and ex-adept of secret societies, this degraded aristocrat may be termed in his unredeemed infamy the villain of the piece. He quickly

* In allusion to this Spanish law of inheritance, one of the characters in the book, a relative of the Empress Eugenie, is represented as always speaking of Napoleon III. as "My cousin, the Count Consort of Teba."

obtains an influence over Currita, which he uses for his own purposes, spending Villamelon's money and trusting to the influence of his name for political and social promotion. One of the most brilliantly descriptive scenes of these pages is that in which, after the accession of Alfonso XII., this reprobate is received at court in the stately ceremonial in which the Grandees of Spain assert their dignity by appearing covered in presence of the king. The ceremony—instituted by Charles V., when he limited the privilege previously shared by all the Spanish nobility to twelve magnates, thenceforward termed Grandees of the first class*—is enhanced by the splendid attire of those presented, generally consisting of some glittering uniform, with cocked hat plumed with feathers. Each is introduced by a godfather, who has been already "covered," and makes a speech recounting the glories of his house and the deeds of his ancestors.

So with various shiftings of the social kaleidoscope, the action runs on to the final catastrophe, the assassination of Jacobo by the emissaries of Freemasonry, in presence of Curra, who has tracked his movements through jealousy. Her social downfall, necessary for retributive justice, follows on the commission of the crime, in the mystery attendant on which she is involved, through the identification as hers of a valuable piece of fur found on the scene. She does not, however, let the sceptre of fashion slip from her grasp without a desperate effort for its retention, and has the audacity to present herself as usual at the Palace on one of the subsequent days, when her turn comes for attendance in her capacity as Lady-in-Waiting to Doña Mercedes, the young Queen. Here a terrible blow is in store for her, for as she awaits in some trepidation the summons to the presence of Her Majesty, a majordomo appears instead, to announce her dismissal, and require her to surrender her cross of office.

Humiliation brings repentance in its train—her heart is softened by devotional exercises, at first resorted to partly as a means of recovering her social prestige, and we leave her in dutiful attendance on her husband, now grown completely idiotic, in the neighbourhood of the shrine of St. Ignatius at

* These were the Dukes of Medinasidonia, Albuquerque, Infantado, Alba, Medina de Rioseco, Frios, Escalona, Benevente, Najera, Arcos, Medinaceli, and the Marqués de Astorga.

Loyola. However satisfying from an artistic point of view, this sudden conversation rather jars upon the reader's sense of congruity, as there is nothing in her previous character to lead up to it. Some redeeming touch of natural feeling, some glimpse of womanly tenderness, some human kindliness for her companions even in frivolity, should have been shown in her as a prelude to such a change. Thus unheralded by any preliminary indication, her sudden conversion leaves on our minds a misgiving as to its reality, and inspires a doubt whether she may not have imposed even on the author of her being, by a new exercise of her Protean power of dissimulation. Apart from this final incongruity, she is throughout a living creation, embodying the worst type of worldly womanhood, and masking with the external graces of manner and bearing a nature as cold and pitiless as it is depraved. With vanity as the mainspring of her actions, to her the author says might be applied what was said of another fictitious personage: "When she assisted at a wedding, she would have wished to be the bride; when at a christening, the new-born infant; when at a funeral, the deceased."

Her feeble husband, with his mental vacuity, his passion for gastronomy, and his temporary crazes for childish pursuits, is equally true to life, and their apparently affectionate relations, based on mutual toleration, are skilfully conveyed. The author's power of character presentment is the more remarkable, as the plot is somewhat wanting in cohesion, and the action consists rather of a series of brilliant episodes than of a central subject governing the minor incidents that spring from it.

The characters who play a secondary part in the drama are each and all elaborately individualised, and among the vices of Spanish high life pilloried in his gallery of illustration by the author, the northern reader will, perhaps, be surprised to find that inebriety is one. His personages include a victim to this form of excess whose deathbed repentance, and reconciliation with heaven by the instrumentality of the old Jesuit who had been his teacher in boyhood, is one of the most vivid and touching scenes in the book.

But while the accomplished Jesuit thus scourges with his caustic pen the vices and weaknesses of the aristocracy, he expressly disclaims the wish to imply that all, or even the

majority, are tainted with these excesses. His indictment against society is rather that through timidity or indolence it allows its tone to be lowered to the level of that of its worst members, and acquiesces passively in the leadership of the most daring offenders against its conventional code. Or as it was put by a periodical of the date of which he writes, the ladies of Madrid might be classified under three headings, a considerable number good, a few bad, a great many who, while belonging to the first category, range themselves in appearance in the second. The same idea is expressed by the author himself as follows :—

And though none could have explained the reason of the supremacy exercised by Currita in the circles of the capital, all the world from the most perfect gentleman to the fashionable gamester, and from the most virtuous lady to the worst conducted, submitted to her more or less directly, with that shameful tolerance of the scandalous which is in our opinion the capital sin of high society in Madrid, and the origin and source of all its deformities. This, too, without ceasing to proclaim that she was surpassed in beauty by all, equalled in descent by many, and outdone in riches by not a few, while only in impudence and audacity did she hold the first place. Was this then the reason of that supremacy? Can it be that certain societies, by dint of seeing vice in the garb of refinement, and by breathing the atmosphere of scandal, attain at last to the aberration of those savage tribes who offer their most abject worhomage and enthusiastic worship to the most monstrous idol?

The scathing satire of the Jesuit moralist is thus directed against the community rather than the individual; against a general perversion of the ethical standard rather than the actual sins of committal by of a comparatively limited class. Nor need his compatriots feel aggrieved if he has chosen from among them the examples with which to point a moral, that in this age when the groundwork of all morality is called in question, and every traditional belief scrutinised to the root, may well be applied by all classes and peoples alike.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

EARLY RUSSIAN FICTION.

GALAKHOF, *Istoria rousskoï Slo vessnosti*. St. Petersburg, 1880.

PORFIRIEF, *Istoria rousskoï Slo vessnosti*. Kasan, 1866.

POLEVOI, *Istoria rousskoï Literatoury*. St. Petersburg, 1883.

RAMBAND, *La Russie épique*. Paris, 1876.

POLEVOI, *Narodnuia Skazki*. St. Petersburg, 1856.

MAIKOF, *O builinakh, &c.* 1863.

THE political and historical conditions of the Slavonic peoples, and perhaps more especially of Russia, as the living barrier between East and West, have of course left their consequences, easily recognisable, in the civil, social, artistic, and literary development of those nations. Centuries of struggle, alternating periods of foreign dominion and dogged resistance under oppression have left as results, a certain exhaustion, apathy, and discouragement, which indeed are slow to vanish, but which will one day be shaken off by strength that is even now gathering. We may suppose that some analogous fate was in store for the fairest regions of Europe had Charles Martel been unsuccessful in his resistance to the forces of Islam, or had the heart been less resolute or the arm less vigorous of those who smote back the Mahometan in the early youth of Christian civilization. Scarcely less is it due to the part played in history by the Slavonic nations that Europe has been shielded from the barbaric powers which would, humanly speaking, have crushed out its Christianity and its vitality; or at least have required the absorption of all its energies in a continual struggle for existence, and not for culture. This ungrateful part in the destinies of Europe is perhaps adequate to explain if not to excuse the retardation of Russia in politics, and in material civilization. Nothing like general education has as yet penetrated the great masses of the Russian people; and they still preserve by oral tradition, altered, it may be, verbally, but not materially, the folk songs and folk tales which have lived for centuries on their lips. As to whether these are dying out or not different opinions

are held. They have not yet, at least to any great extent, been replaced by music-hall doggrels and "penny dreadfuls."

But while the masses thus still remain in the past, the cultured few keep more or less apace with the advance of knowledge in the West, and are alive to the importance of preserving, while yet this is possible, the oral literature of the peasantry. Afanasief, Hilferding, and other scholars have in recent times collected and recorded these echoes of a past that is rapidly being effaced. An Englishman, strange to say, Richard James, Chaplain of Embassy, about 1619, was the first to begin this work. A manuscript in his hand containing six songs is preserved at Oxford.

So far as style is concerned—writes Mr. Ralston, the best English authority on Early Russian literature, in his "Russian Folk-tales" (1873, p. 5)—The skazkas, or Russian folk-tales, may justly be said to be characteristic of the Russian people. There are numerous points on which the "lower classes" of all the Aryan peoples in Europe closely resemble each other, but the Russian peasant has—in common with all his Slavonic brethren—a genuine talent for narrative which distinguishes him from some of his more distant cousins. And the stories which are current among the Russian peasantry are for the most part exceedingly well narrated. Their language is simple and pleasantly quaint, their humour is natural and unobtrusive, and their descriptions, whether of persons or of events, are often excellent. A taste for acting is widely spread in Russia, and the Russian folk-tales are full of dramatic positions which offer a wide scope for a display of their reciter's mimetic talents. Every here and there, indeed, a tag of genuine comedy has evidently been attached by the story-teller to a narrative which in its original form was probably devoid of the comic element.

This oral literature, if we may use such a term,* consists of pagan ritual songs, proverbs, riddles, etc. but it likewise includes (a) fragmentary epics or metrical romances reciting the feats of *bogatouri*† or national heroes. This kind of composition is called *bulina* from the verb substantive *buiti* and (b) the *skazka* or prose tale avowed fiction, from *skazat*, to tell.

* "*Slovesnost*" signifies the art of language or literature, whether oral or written, and is derived from *Slovo* word just as "*pissmenost*," written literature, writing, is formed from "*pissat*" to write *pismo*, letter.

† The etymology of *bogatuir* is not, I believe, yet settled. *Bogatuir* is not the word employed in the oldest written poems, and may have been introduced by the Tartars, and been derived by them from an Aryan source the Sanscrit *baghadhara*, a fortunate person. It has also been referred to *bogat*, rich.

The *builini* segregate into several groups each whereof is associated with certain localities, or certain historical personages. The chief groups or cycles are those of the *older heroes*, or quasi demigods—of Vladimir, prince of Kiev, of Novgorod, of Moscow, of the Cossacks, and of Peter the Great. It is, however, to be remarked that it is by no means in those localities to which these legends attach that the greatest number of *builini* have been written down from the mouths of the peasantry.

Elias of Mouroni is the dominant hero of the cycle of Vladimir. Vladimir himself fills a place similar to that of Charlemagne in the early romance of France.

The peasant's son Elias was without the full use of his arms or legs until his thirtieth year. His marvellous strength was at length imparted to him by pilgrims—or, in some variants of the legend, is conferred on him by Christ, who, accompanied by two apostles, appears and solicits refreshments—he is, however, bidden quaff himself the draught he offers them, and anon

His heroic heart upkindled,
His white body oozed with sweat.

Hereupon he exults in such strength that he could turn the land of Holy Rus round, were there a pillar reaching to heaven, and a ring of gold to hold by. Bidden drink again he loses some of his superabundant strength. According to a different version Ilya received his "heroic strength" from Sviatogor (Holy Mount, a Slavonic Sampson, and, following the Solarists, the Old Sun who cedes his place to the New Sun Ilya). Sviatogor adopts Ilya as his younger brother, and they journey together, and come to an immense sepulchre which bears the inscription: "He that is destined to lie in this tomb, shall lie there outstretched." It proves too large for Ilya but fits his companion, who begs his younger brother to cover him with the stone cover. True to the mild character which we shall see further developed in Ilya, and which is not without racial significance, he declines to entomb his stronger brother, and remonstrates; so Sviatogor adjusts the cover himself. He finds, however, that he is unable to raise it again, and then exclaims "Fate has overtaken me, try thou, and lift the cover." Ilya's repeated efforts prove vain. "Bend down to me," says the giant, "through the chink I will breathe into thee my heroic breath." Ilya obeys, and forthwith his strength is increased threefold. But as before his endeavour to liberate Sviatogor is unavailing. "I am dying," says the giant, "bend down that I breathe into thee my whole strength." "I have enough," replies Ilya, "more, and the earth would not hold me." "Thou hast done well, little brother, to disobey my last command, I should have breathed a deadly breath upon thee, and thou would'st have lain dead by my side."*

* Rybnikof I. p. 42.

This account serves to show the relation of Ilya of Mouroni, a hero, to the older race of bogatui, or demigods. He is counselled, as M. Porfiriev observes (p. 52), by the pilgrims not to fight the giant, and is given such strength only as will render it possible for him to dwell with ordinary men.

Sviatogor bequeaths his sword to Ilya, but his horse is to be tethered to his grave,—“None other than I must have him.”

The first action of Ilya upon receiving strength, was to cultivate the soil, an occupation rarely assigned by epic compositions to the hero,* and the incident is significant in regard to the stage of Slavonic social development, at which it was interpolated into the probably earlier epic materials.

Ilya having begged his father's blessing, sets out on his “heroic steed” to Kief, the great Russian sanctuary, the second Constantinople, “to pray to God and render homage to Prince Vladimir.” He is scarcely inferior to one of Arthur's knights or Charles's paladins in his care for the oppressed, his magnanimity, and his disinterestedness. On his way he delivers Chernigof from countless hosts of paynims, and, further on, encounters and captures the brigand monster Solovei (Nightingale), who reminds M. Rambaud (“*La Russie épique*,” p. 52) of the Stymphalian harpies. His nest was on seven oaks, he stretched out his talons for seven versts around, like the sea monster slain by Perseus, and so many other mythical dragons which had long devastated the country side. His whistle alone produced the most terrible effects. His captor brings him to the Court of Vladimir, at Kief, where, at the prince's behest, he bids the monster whistle, but only at half strength. But Solovei sounds his loudest and brings the roof of the palace down. In punishment he is chopped up by Ilya, and the gory mince strewn over the land. Ilya protects the terror stricken king and queen under his mantle.

Ily or Elias is not without his frailties; he drinks like any moujick—only more—and sleeps a “heroic sleep” of twelve days when he should be battling. On the other hand he is generous and disinterested, taking no guerdon for his beneficent feats. Russian critics observe with some complacency that Ily, in this respect, presents a favourable contrast to the avidity which, in the Scandinavian and Teutonic tradition, stimulates the search after the hidden treasure of the Nibelungs. He is of higher moral stature, too; remarks M. Galakhof, than Vladimir, whom he prevents from accepting a bribe offered by the children of Solovei for that caitiff's

* Hiawatha is an exception.

release. Vladimir, indeed, like the Charlemagne of the Roland Song often obeys or seeks protection from his powerful vassal.

Not all the builini are occupied with purely Slavonic themes. It is evident that numerous legends from different lands have been acclimatized and framed in a Slavonic setting, and more or less impressed with a Slavonic character. Thus, in the story of "Eruslan Sazarevich," the legend of the Persian hero Rustem of the "Shah Nameh" has been recognized in Russian story. We find, too, the wide-spread myth of Perseus and his mother Danaë committed to the sea in a chest; the Egyptian story of the robbery of the Treasury of Rhampsinitus preserved by Herodotus, reappears; and there is a Slavonic version of the Celtic story of the Miller and his Lord.*

Byzantium was largely an intermediary in the diffusion of Greek and Oriental legends among the South Slavonians, mainly the Bulgarians, and through them in Russia. The passage was, perhaps, chiefly by literary channels, but also probably to no inconsiderable extent by the oral way. In the transmission of such traditions to the Slavonic peoples, the Byzantines filled a rôle analogous to that played by the Jews and Arabs in the transfer of Eastern fable to the lands of Western Europe. As we might expect, Alexander of Macedon, who looms so conspicuous through the vistas of mediæval romance, makes also a distinguished figure in Slavonic fiction, where one of his exploits is the incarceration of Gog and Magog in the bowels of a mountain, whence they are to issue at doomsday.

Alexander, who in Western versions of the romance, is made a model of chivalry, is also in the Byzantine fictions endowed with Christian qualities, takes arms against the Gentiles, and in one Servian manuscript is styled the *blessed* Alexander. The romance was widely diffused in Russia; and portions of it, particularly the accounts of the Indian King Porus, and of Gog and Magog, served as themes for skazki.

Besides the "Alexandreis," the romances of the "Trojan War," of "Barlaam and Josaphat," written in Greek from Eastern sources by St. John Damascene, the story of "India the Rich," was a favourite skazka.

* Herodot Luzel, *Contes Bretons*.

The legend of India the Rich (*Skazania ob Indii bogatoï*) is a version of the well-known feigned letter from Prester John to the Embassy of Manuel Comnenus. The earliest known Slavonic manuscript is of the fifteenth century.

The skazka of Akir the Wise, according to M. Bezsonof is a Russian embodiment of an Eastern legend of Asia Minor; and Akir himself much resembles Æsop, who was in the service of the Babylonian King Lycerus.

The wise Akir or Akour (perhaps a form of Assour) was the Viceroy of King Sinographe in the provinces of Alivit (Niniveh) and Aizor. Nothing was wanting to render him happy but a son. But he was told in a vision by God to adopt his nephew Anadam. Anadam repaid his benefits with the blackest ingratitude, and answers accordingly to Eunus the adopted son of Æsop. He accused Akir to Sinogrip of aiming at the throne, and to give point to the calumny forged royal letters ordering Akir to lead a contingent of troops to the capital. This stratagem succeeded, and Akir ordered his execution. But the groom charged with this commission was induced to spare Akir by the latter reminding him that his, Akir's, father had spared the groom's father on a similar occasion, and a prisoner already under capital sentence is executed instead. Akir was universally lamented as dead. A contest of riddles had long been active between Sinogrip and Pharao, and the latter, now that Akir, whose astuteness had always secured the victory for his master, was dead, thought the time was come to take his *revanche*. So he sent a representative at the head of an army to the capital of Sinogrip whose kingdom he would conquer and annex should he fail to answer the riddles proposed. One by one Sinogrip's councillors and wise men were baffled, until at last the King sent for Anadam and offered him the half of his Kingdom if he would deliver him from his embarrassment. Anadam could only reply that the gods themselves could not solve the enigmas proposed. Meantime the groom, coming to hear how matters stood, brought word of the situation to Akir, who authorized him to inform the monarch that his faithful minister was still alive and ready to serve him. The King throws himself at the feet of Akir and adjures him to save the realm—just as Charlemagne supplicates Ogiér, or Vladimir Ily of Mouroni.

Akir compels Pharaoh's messenger to return to his master, to whose court Akir also goes, and replies satisfactorily to the riddles. The tables are thus turned, and Pharaoh makes ready the tribute he now owes to Sinagrip. The King of Niniveh, however, will take nothing but a precious stone which shines night and day, and which frequently appears in Russian legends. As to Anadam, he is delivered into the hands of Akir and duly punished, Akir reminding him of the scripture parable of the good and bad trees.

The Russian impress on this ancient Eastern legend (remarks M. Rambaud) is manifest in several palpably Christian details. In his directions to his adopted son Akir recommends him to frequent the churches; Anadam's perversion is brought about by the devil; and the story-teller observes, with reference to the episode of a cat being whipped by Akir's order, that at that time the Egyptians were idolaters, leaving the inference that Sinagrip and the Assyrians were Orthodox Christians. As to the mythical groundwork of the story, this is easy to discover. Akir is the old son who is daily supplanted by the new one. Anadam is perhaps only a form of the Syrian Adonis.

It has been shown by Professor Vesselovsky, of St. Petersburg,* that a Byzantine epic of the tenth century, *Digenis Akritas*,† re-appears in the Russian *Devgenievo dyeanie* (Exploits of Devgenii).

From whatever quarter they were imported the stories are usually so well Russianized that it is often difficult to recognise their descent. M. Puipin has, however, traced a considerable number to their foreign sources. Here, for instance, is a curious instance of change undergone in the case of the well-known Eastern flying carpet upon its adoption into Russian popular fiction.

A Khan who is routed by St. Dimitri of Thessalonika orders a carpet to be embroidered with the portrait of the Saint, by one of his captives, a pious Christian maid, in order that he may vent his spite by trampling it under foot. The imprisoned maiden is compelled to execute the work, but when she is left alone she bethinks herself of praying to St. Dimitri, and

* Vyestnik Evropy, April, 1875.

† This poem, which celebrates the feats of a certain *Panthir* who helped to rout the Russian expedition of Igor in 941, is extant in a MS. of the Town Library at Trebizond. It was published by Emile Legrand at Paris in 1875. Some account of it is given at p. 422 of Rambaud's "*La Russie Epique*," and in the same writer's article in the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*," 15 Août, 1875.

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falls asleep upon the embroidery. Upon awaking she finds herself in the Cathedral at Thessalonika, whither she had been miraculously transported on the tapestry, out of the enemy's hands.

The lineage of many of the fictions now domiciled in Russia has been traced, if not to their ultimate sources, at least to earlier homes, but it is not so clear how far stories of Slavonic origin have been diffused beyond Slavonic soil. Radlow, an authority on Mongolian languages, adduces inclinations of a passage of Russian legends into Asia. If he is unsupported in this view, it must be recollected that there are exceedingly few who are competent on the question. From the South, from the West, the literary current has generally set to Russia, though in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there was a reflux to South Slavonia. The subject is, however, as yet comparatively unexplored; its study should be auxiliary to history in throwing light on the movement and mutual relations of people. But it should not be unfruitful of other results. The early lays and legends of a people are full of that freshness, force, and fire which evoke the highest order of art, whether literary or other. The Russian poet Lermontof used ever to regret that he had not in his youth drunk at this fount of the people's lore, whence Poushkin drew so many of his best inspirations. Our own olden tales of Arthur are vital even now, when Tennyson has given them their finest investiture. These echoes of a simpler, nobler age ring out clear above the sordid materialism of to-day.

Just as large portions of the celebrated "Turpin's Chronicle" were moulded out of early ballads or *cantilenes*, so the annals of Nestor (1056-1114) embody many legends, whether of home growth or of Byzantine extraction. Other early Russian historical works are rather epic narratives than sober records. They abound in heathen and classical allusions and legendary anecdotes. The "Slovo o Polkon Yegoreva," or account of the expedition of Igor, Prince of Novgorod, against the Tartar tribes of the Polovtsi, is of this class. Mr. Morfill, in his "Early Slavonic Literature," compares this narrative to the Irish poetical descriptions of the battle of Clontarf, in the feuds of the Gaedhill and Gaill.

Notwithstanding the Tartar Invasion, literature, though

checked in the North East, did not decay. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Novgorod, Rostoff, Yaroslavl, Movrom, and other centres had produced whole cycles of legendary records relating to their princes and bishops.

The inflictions of the Mongols, however, found vivid expression in the unwritten literature of the people. The Tartar usually figures as the type of a terrible hostile power. Even in the thirteenth century there were manuscripts containing a whole series of semi-historical, semi-poetical stories and legends dealing with real events and personages.

The influence of Christian ideas is very apparent in the contrast presented by the heroes of these narratives to those of the older *bulini*. In the latter they are braggarts distinguished by physical strength and prowess—in the former it is a spiritual power which enables them to vanquish their enemies and recognize a higher agency than their own strength. (Galakhof p. 467).

The romance of the "White Hood of Novgorod" by Dmitri Tolmach; the "Expedition of John III. to Novgorod" attributed to the Metropolitan Philip I, and the romance of "Drakoula the cruel woiwode of Walachia," had great vogue.

The foundation and capture (1453) of *Constantinople* was also a widely diffused legend possessing high popular interest as containing a prediction that the Russian nation would one day conquer the Turks and rule in the city on the Bosphorus.

Greek or Byzantine influence upon Russian fiction and literature generally is unmistakably marked up to the fall of Constantinople, but after the close of the sixteenth century began to decline in favour of the learned and scholastic element from the West. One of the most notable importations from Byzantium is the story of Varlaam and Joasaph (Barlaam and Josaphat), sometimes attributed to St. John Climacus, and often printed in the works of St. John Damascene, and generally thought to have been penned by the last-named, who would have heard this Eastern story at the Court of Damascus, and by a slight change invested it with a Christian character and moral. This story of the solitary Sage Varlaam who converts the Indian prince Joasaph to Christianity, is, like other early Indian romances, a frame for the introduction of

numerous parables and apologues, many of which are found separately in the various Russian *sborniki* or repertories, and furnished themes from *stikhi* or church canticles. Through the same Byzantine channel was also imported the collection of Bidpai's fables, under the title "Stephanit and Ichnilat," the crowned and the follower, the designations of the two courtier jackals who recite their stories and allegories to tsar Lion. The *Doukhovnia piesni* are sung or recited by the *kaliki* or pilgrims who make their way from village to village, and are the appeal or return made by them for the charities of the peasants. These hymns based on the wildest and most absurd apocryphal fabrications, full of marvel and mysticism—sensationalism—possessed a great charm for the masses of the people. They owed their diffusion chiefly to the Bogomil heretics in the South, especially the followers of the priest Bogomil in the tenth century, and rapidly spread northwards in great numbers. M. Galakhof observes that, "just as in the West, heretics paid special attention to spiritual poetry, and do so still, composing songs after the manner of those still in vogue among the old folk, or parodying the old songs."

Indeed, we in this country have too often at the expense of our ears and our Sunday's quiet, come to realize in recent years, the effect of religious ballads, of the most eccentric, not to say blasphemous complexion, upon multitudes far more advanced in secular knowledge than ever were Russian or Bulgarian peasants. Moreover, these heretical fictions, besides captivating the imagination, played upon the superstition and appealed to the materialism of the people. These songs were transmitted orally from generation to generation; but after the introduction of the press began to be printed. The subjectile material was at first strips or sheets of the soft inner bark of the linden tree *lub* or *lubok*, and the songs printed on this substance came to be known as *lubochnya kartinki*, a term which continued to denote the productions of the cheap press even after the adoption of paper, and which usually consisted of roughly drawn pictures accompanied by a few lines of letterpress; a sort of *Biblia Pauperum* in fact.

One of the Christmas *stikhi*, doubtless derived from some

apocryphal work now lost, and not as yet traced to any literary source, contains a curious story of the "Zhena Milosliva; or, Compassionate Woman." The verses relate how a certain woman is employed in kindling a fire, and holds in one arm her baby, when the Blessed Virgin with the child Jesus (or in some variants Jesus alone), fleeing from the Jews, appears before her and asks her to throw her own child into the fire and to take Christ in her arms. The woman obeys the behest, and upon the Jews coming up tells them that she has thrown the fugitive child into the fire (according to one variant he leaped into it of his own accord). The Jews perceiving in effect the legs and arms of a child in the flames were satisfied and desisted from the pursuit. In the meantime the infant Jesus had vanished, and the mother looking into the fire sees there her child alive and uninjured. The refrain "Alleluia" used with this ballad led to the adoption of Alleluia as the name of the woman. M. Galakhof states that the incident narrated served to incite fanatics to burn themselves and their children as a sacrifice to Christ.

The story of St. George is a favourite theme of the stikhi, and, however altered and embellished, undoubtedly rests upon traditions of very high antiquity.

The legend of "Yegor the Brave; or, St. George," has been preserved in both prose and verse and presents numerous variants which fall, however, into two chief categories. In one the delivery of the maiden from the snake or dragon is effected before, in the other after, the saint's martyrdom. The oldest icon representing this subject is, as far as the writer is aware, of the thirteenth century.*

In the city of Laossia lived the tsar or king Selyevin, a worshipper of the idols Apollo, Herakles, Skamander and Artemis. God punished the city for its iniquity with a peculiar visitation. A terrible man-killing snake took up its abode near a neighbouring lake. The attack of the royal forces proving ineffectual, the king proposes to appease the monster by offering to it the children of rich and poor, beginning with his own only daughter. To this plan his subjects agree, but at the moment of trial the prince is seized with paternal pity

* Given in Prokhorov's "Christianskia Drevnosti" kn. 3.

and begs his people to spare him his only child. In vain, the maiden is led forth to be devoured by the snake.

At that time it happened that the Greek army was returning from a war with Persia, and in it the brave soldier George. At the bidding of God he turned aside to the lake, and perceiving the maiden promised to save her if she would believe in Christ. He addresses a prayer to God and hears in response an approving voice from heaven. Meanwhile the reptile has issued from the pool and is spurning venom at the saint, but when adjured with God's name changes this demeanour and begins to lick the feet of St. George; and reassured by this evidence of docility the princess, at the command of the hero, leads the dragon into the town, to the great consternation of the citizens. St. George now comes forward and offers them the alternative of believing in the true God, in which event he is ready to exterminate the monster, or of remaining idolatrous when he will set it free among them. The king and people opt for Christianity, Bishop *Alexander*, who seems to have been at hand, or promptly appears on St. George's summons, in fifteen days baptizes 40,000 souls; a spring of water which heals all ailments gushes from the earth, the saint departs amidst regretful ovations, a church is raised to his honour, and the princess, now christened Mary (in some versions, previously called Laodamia, in others unnamed), dedicates herself to God.

In the redaction of the legend in which this marvel occurs after St. George's death the city is called Heval, or Nagav, in Palestine, and the king offers his daughter only after the citizens have already sacrificed their children. There is no mention of the name of the bishop nor does the marvellous fountain appear. At his departure the saint, however, orders his feast to be kept on April 23rd, and upon the completion of the church, sends to it his shield, which remained suspended under the dome without any support. In another variant the city is named Pakleisko, and forms with Sodom and Gomorrah a triad which had provoked the wrath of God. The princess is here Elizabeth, a name which appears on an icon of the subject of the thirteenth century, and she is already a Christian, and therefore no favourite at home, for the King's spouse

approaches her husband in his dilemma with this counsel—
“Do not be anxious, sire, not cast down ”

We have yet our daughter unbeloved,
Lizaveta Ogapitovna (daughter of Agapit)
We will give her to feed the cruel serpent ;
Not our belief does she believe,
Not to our God does she pray,
She prays to the Crucified Lord.

Some of the stikhi contain curious additions and embellishments, *e. g.* the doomed princess is exhorted to deck herself as a bride—she strikes the monster and it turns into a swarm of reptiles. In one variant St. George appears to the princess when she is expecting to be devoured by the dragon. He lies down to sleep, bidding her wake him should the monster show himself. When, however, the dragon does put in an appearance, she is terror stricken and dares not rouse the hero, but falls a-weeping, and a tear which drops on the face of the sleeping Yegor, wakes him. The reader will hardly have expected to find the sleeping beauty myth in the history of St. George, yet, this curious variant certainly reminds one of it, and would seem to relate to that old Indian tale. This romantic episode, it should be added, where not force, but a defenceless maiden's tear rouses our hero to action, is sometimes obscured ; the tears are without this effect and the weeper has to awaken the somnolent saint with a knife stroke.

It is noteworthy that both Bulgarian and Cretan songs about St. George agree very closely with the Russian legend. The legend had already been differentiated into various forms before it had passed from Greek into the Slavonic languages. Of the martyrdom of St. George there are three main redactions—of which two are considered “apocryphal,” and one is recognised by the “orthodox” Church. The oldest of the apocryphal variants dates back as far as the sixth century, and was diffused over the whole East among Mahometans as well as Christians. According to this version George suffered under the Persian monarch Dardian, and was subjected to tortures lasting over seven years, in the course of which he was thrice killed and thrice came to life again. The other apocryphal redaction names the hero's parents. His father, Gerontius

(Geraint), is a Pagan, but his mother, Polichronia, a Christian. He distinguishes himself by destroying idols, and for this misdemeanour is reported to the king by the Pagan priest, Selivan. When summoned to sacrifice he feigns obedience, in order to obtain access to the queen, whom he converts, and George, his mother, and the proselyte queen all suffer martyrdom.

The redaction recognised by the Russian Church* has much in common with the first apocryphal version. George, however, suffers under Diocletian for seven days, not years; he is imprisoned, and a heavy stone placed on his breast; he is broken on the wheel, and thrown into a pit with quicklime, whence on the third day he rises unhurt. Spiked boots are then put on his feet, and he is beaten with rods and with ox-tendons; twice he drinks poison, which had been prepared by the magician Athanasius, but which proves ineffectual. He raises a corpse to life, and converts the resuscitated, together with Athanasius, the Empress Alexandra, and sundry others. When brought by Diocletian into a temple he overturns the idols by a word, and the emperor condemns him to death. A version essentially the same as the above, but with some omissions, is found in Greek as early as the eighth century. It is stated that no manuscripts of these stikhi have been found, and that it has only been written down from the mouths of the singers in comparatively recent times.

Of less serious tone and tendency than the stikhi or canticles, yet still containing a didactic or moral element, the "Narodnuia Legendui," or popular prose legends, were like them founded on apocryphal literature. In these religious skazki often little remains but the name of the hero or the outline of the chief event, while all the rest is an invention of the popular fancy.†

Numbers of short "laughter-raising" stories which had circulated amongst the bourgeois classes of the West found their way through Polish channels into Russia, such as the widow who obeyed her husband's dying behest to sell their cow, and make an offering of the price for the good of his soul, by selling the animal for a halfpenny, but coupling with

* Afanasief, "Narodnuia Legendui," 1860.

†Puipin, "Narodnuia Legendui," in the *Sovremnienik*, 1860, tom. lxxx.

the bargain the sale of her cat for four pieces of gold. Such anecdotes, largely, of course, derived indirectly from the *fabliaux* often lost their sprightly character for the more sombre or mournful colouring which so deeply tinges Russian literature, and generally underwent characteristic modification. Thus the villain of the tableau who gets inside Heaven by stratagem, and stays there by argument, is a toper who talks down the several saints charged to expel him, and whose tongues, as he tells them, are used only to set down the sober, but are quite unequal to cope with a tippler's. A story so contrary in tendency to the usual hortatory tales, was naturally regarded with an ill-eye, and was placed together with the story of Akir on the index of dangerous writings.

The first attempt at original fiction appears in the seventeenth century, and shows two strongly marked tendencies, conditioned by the general inclination of mankind to look upon every phenomenon from two opposite points of view, the pathetic and the humorous. This duality of impression especially prevailed amongst the best Russians of the seventeenth century, and it is then, accordingly, we first meet with facetious satire ridiculing reality and its shortcomings in the secular novel which now began to pourtray contemporary life, but had previously been precluded from development by the predominance of the religious element in the elder literature. The only production of the kind in question which appeared before the seventeenth century is the history of the Russian gentleman, Frole Skobyeev.

The hero of this curious story is the cunning intriguer, Phrol Skobyeev, a poor nobleman of Novgorod. Annoushka, the daughter of the rich Boyar Nastchokin, had told her nurse to ask several daughters of noblemen to spend the evening with her. Phrol Skobyeev happens to meet the nurse and bribes her to include his sister in the invitation. The latter obtains permission to bring an acquaintance who is no other than her own brother disguised in female attire. The nurse again bribed promotes a meeting between Skobyeev and her charge. When Annoushka learns who her visitor really is she is frightened, but is reconciled to him, and defends him against the blame of the nurse, concealed him in the house for three days, and then dismissed him with a gift of

300 roubles. All this takes place in the property of Nastchokin at Novgorod. He and his wife are at Moscow, where, meanwhile, suitors for the hand of their daughter come forward. Accordingly Annoushka is bidden to Moscow. A sister of Nastchokin's—a nun—begs that her niece may visit her, and promises to send a carriage to bring her. Annoushka at once acquaints Skobyeev with her aunt's intention, and he borrows a carriage from his friend Lovchikof in order as he tells him to pay a visit to his betrothed, makes the coachman drunk, assumes his clothes, and drives to Nastchokin's house, as if sent by his sister, the nun. He drives her off in the carriage, and they are secretly married. At length Nastchokin learns that his daughter is not, as he supposed, with her aunt, and sets enquiries on foot. Nastchokin now threatens Lovchikof that he will implicate him, as he had lent his carriage, unless he intercedes for him, which Lovchikof feels constrained to promise he will do. It is accordingly concerted that Skobyeev shall publicly ask forgiveness of his father-in-law, who, upon learning what has become of his daughter, is beside himself with rage, and resolves to denounce Skobyeev. Eventually cooler counsel prevails with him, anger gives place to chagrin, and he sends to enquire after his daughter's health. Skobyeev enjoins Annoushka to simulate illness, tells the messenger that her parents' anger and reproaches have brought her to the brink of the grave, and her only hope is in their immediate blessing. They at once comply, and back the blessing with a substantial store of good things, the burden of six horses. Subsequently reconciliation was completed, and Skobyeev, upon Nastchokin's death, inherits his vast wealth. The calm recital of Skobyeev's rogueries, devoid of any idealism, actuated only by the most material motives, reminds one rather of the picturesque novels of Spain, and contrasts with the romances of chivalry.*

Indigenous as we have seen the raw material of earlier Russian fiction to be, it has upon adoption been invested with a strong Slavonic character and local colour. These were not

* With the story of Skobyeev may be ranked the "Histories of the Russian Sailor, Vassily Koriotsky," and of "The Brave Russian Cavalier Alexander," which, however, appeared at a later period.

The history of "Frol Skobyeev" was re-cast by I. Novikof, under the title of "The adventures of Ivan Tostinny," published with other tales in 1785-6.

direct or servile imitations of foreign products—on the contrary, the importations were in most cases so modified and disguised that it has required all the erudition of modern scholars to trace them to their sources. In the seventeenth century, however, this ceased to be the case, and though the popular native stories still continued to please the lower classes, and even to some extent to stimulate recasts or similar productions, translations from the romances and fictions of France and other countries were freely made, and became the model for direct and generally very feeble imitations which ruled the fashion of the time. But we could not pursue the subject further without exceeding the restricted space in which we have endeavoured to give a brief account of some of the earlier legends and tales of Russia, and, indeed, we have reached the halting point between the old and the modern Russian literature. If the old "folk-tales" strongly reflect the characteristics of the race, the modern Russian literature of fiction, as we may hope, on some future occasion to show, is still more, the truest expression of the nation's wants and aspirations.

H. WILSON.

PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

IN the course of the last few years there has sprung up an institution on behalf of children under the somewhat startling, and almost self-condemnatory title, "The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children," for the purpose of discovering those sufferings and sorrows of children which are needless and wilfully inflicted upon them by adults, and of putting a stop to them.

The published and authenticated results of the beginnings of its work are of such a serious nature, and of such serious proportion, as to alarm at least those of us who regard the condition of the home life of people as eclipsing all other matters of interest to a nation, and more especially to the Church. Some years of the work of that Society has passed so severe a judgment upon certain phases of that life that Parliament has passed, and is now passing, measures to strengthen its hands. The police authorities, both of the City of London and the Metropolis, and of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, and of almost everywhere where its agencies are at work have welcomed it; and judicial opinion from the Petty Sessional Court to the Assize has recognised it as an essential to national well-being.

Before putting the case of the society, I will add what is of paramount importance to Catholics, viz., that its principles and its procedure have now the approval of the highest authorities in the Catholic Church.

The Cardinal, Archbishop of Westminster, the Bishops of Salford, Nottingham, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Southwark are amongst its subscribers and active supporters.

In the disposal of such children as may have to be taken from hopelessly dissipated and vicious parents it has bound itself by the statute it has passed (52 and 53 Vic., chap. 44) to give all Catholic children to Catholic custody.

"In determining on the person to whom the child shall be
"so committed, the court shall endeavour to ascertain the

"religious persuasion to which the child belongs, and shall, if possible, select a person of the same religious persuasion. And such religious persuasion shall be specified in the order; and in any case where the child has been placed pursuant to any such order with a person not of the same religious persuasion as that to which the child belongs, the court shall, on the application of any person in that behalf, and on its appearing that a fit person of the same religious persuasion is willing to undertake the charge, make an order to secure his being placed with a person of the same religious persuasion."

The principle on which it determines a Catholic child is the Church in which it was baptised. Though this should involve much trouble to find, it takes the trouble; and though in the result it has to take the child from what is at the time Protestant custody, it takes it from Protestant custody. It allows no Aid Committee, not its most remote, to be a Protestant Committee, nor to be opened with Protestant prayer. By its constitution, which every committee has formally to accept before it is incorporated as one of the Society's branches, it forbids anything to be done "which is contrary to the principles of any particular religious persuasions." Protestants, Catholics and Jews are all upon an equal footing in its committees, and their activities. At its shelter, where temporary roof and food are given to children pending trials and during their wrong doers' imprisonment, Catholic children practise the rites of their Church. Their bed-time prayer is a Catholic prayer from the Catholic Catechism. They are taken to Mass by a Sister or other person appointed by the local Priest. Cruelty is that with which the Society deals, everything else is left to the Church, to which the victims of it belong, and for seven years in partly Catholic London, and for three in mainly Catholic Dublin, for four in largely Catholic Preston (Lancashire) and for varying periods in sixty other centres of population in England and Ireland (including Cork and Belfast), Catholic and Protestant work side by side, with complete satisfaction, alike with the adopted principles, and with the active policy by which they are all governed. That this is the universal experience has its reason in the fact that Aid Committees are not companies of persons loosely

associated in virtue of a common name, doing similar sort of work, but in their own ways, and as best they can. They are bodies of persons who have considered, accepted, and united under one constitution, having both local and national and identical methods—are indeed one corporate body, having a common life and action and purse, enforcing the proper treatment of children according to their rights under the law.

The Society's results are simply appalling. To put them briefly: Since its formation in 1884 it has dealt with 15,906 complaints, of which 10,179 were proved to be true. These cases affected the welfare of 34,168 children. Of these 6,374 were warned and 1,800 prosecuted, of which 1,540 were convicted. The cruelties were—

General ill-treatment ...	...	...	2,203.
Assaults ...	...	...	1,995.
Neglect and starvation ...	...	...	7,636.
Abandonment ...	...	...	434.
Begging ...	...	...	1,281.
Exposure ...	...	...	810.
Cruel immorality ...	...	...	720.
Other wrongs ...	...	...	867.

In 8,691 cases, warnings, more or less formal and stern were given, followed by supervision. In 2,225 there were prosecutions, and such is the care and skill of the Society in its Court cases that 92 per cent. of this terrible tale were convicted. The total period of imprisonment inflicted was 376 years, the amount of fines, £567. These terrible figures are of less than one-fourth of the country.

In view of the conditions under which these cruelties took place, they become still more significant. As regards the size of families in which cruelties have been dealt with, the analysis of the 10,169 cases of the last two years shows:

Families with 2 children in, or less ...	2,579.
" " 3 " " " ...	6,025.
" " 4 " " " ...	1,205.
" " 5 " " or more ...	360.

The average number of children in the families of the cruel in these 10,000 cases is 2.78.

As to wages, there were only 396 cases in which these were below 20s. a week. In upwards of 3,000 cases the minimum actual wage was 27s. 6d., which, but for many men caring only to earn enough for their own wants, might have been doubled.

The cases have included the children of the drunkard; of the devil-may-care and idle; of the married and estranged; the married and unfaithful and of the unmarried; of the dead; of the tramp; of the better and gamblers; of the speculator in child-life insurance; of the advertising child slaughterer known as baby farmers; of the avaricious and greedy, and of the exceptional class which is cruel without any reason but that it has an implacable hatred of helplessness.

None of these classes would furnish portrait models for a Chamber of Horrors—not even the professional baby slaughterer. They range from people of the ordinary face to what is usually regarded as sweetly celestial.

The victims are too helpless to put "type" into their enemies' countenances. Besides, to those who mortally hurt a child its life or death is in most cases little more than an irritating fly's. It is not even always so much as that. Found guilty of starving her motherless baby sister to death, a woman actually pleaded as her defence, "My mother did not look after *my* child, therefore I did not look after *hers*."

The only person in the mind of the torturer of the child was, if anybody, not the child, but the child's dead mother. The motive of cruelty is of the cruel person's own self-loathing. A drunken cook, who at every opportunity struck the child she ought not to have had with sticks, boots, pans, and on one occasion with a carving knife, cutting open her arm, and then refusing to allow even the child herself to bind it up, gave as the one reason for it all, "I can't bear the sight of her." Generally speaking, the faults with which children are credited by cruel people are the illusions of bad minds. Hating the child hateful things are seen in it. The devil in *them* sees a devil in the *child*.

Speaking with experience of 12,000 children's cases it is almost universally true that the more innocent and simple the

child is—the better looking-glass does it make for its haters to see their own black villany in.

As regards cases of savagery, especially of persistent savagery, the real root of their savagery is mainly two-fold; it is, first, a sullen ill-conditioned disposition, and, secondly, a cowardice which limits its gratification to unresisting and helpless things. Men become addicted to cruelty, as they become addicted to drink and gambling. It is a vile pleasure, in which they indulge, some occasionally, some persistently, making their homes into little hells. In some cases drink, trouble, and more or less of provocation and the like may temporarily and grievously aggravate its expression; but these things are not its real cause, and with its worst and most chronic forms they are not even associated. As regards the larger number of cases of passive and deliberate neglect, resulting in starvation, idleness, drunkenness, and avarice: In one year of these cases, 1,298 of the victims were found to be insured for a gross sum of £6,019, being an average of £4 12s. 8d. per child. So many were admitted by the culprits to be insured. It is morally certain that many more were so, where insurance was denied from motives of shame or of self-protection.

If one asks how it is that the Society has discovered facts so wholly hidden and unsuspected till it came into existence, the answer is simple and plain. The reason is threefold. Until the Society created one, there was no agency to deal with children's cases. The police went through the streets with an eye for the offences committed in the streets; but offences against children were committed in the house, at the table, in the sick room. Though the effect of the crime might find its way into the street, to the hospital, to the coroner's jury, the crime, the act producing what went there was surrounded with all the privacy and secrecy of the home, and not one step were the police allowed to take to get at it until someone had laid an information at the police station. Mr. Justice Field recently finding, in a case of manslaughter brought before him, that a good-hearted constable had been acting as an ordinary man, not within his limits as a policeman, and that he had initiated it, dismissed the case, remarking that in the getting of it up a great constitutional principle had been violated. The police must not take any proceedings save upon a complaint of a

common citizen, or with regard to an offence which he himself has seen committed. But that excludes all bedroom and indoor offences against children. Babies cannot lay information; and children, not babies, do not. Besides, were the child able to get out and it was disposed to make complaint, and did it dare to do so, the very last man who would be thought of to tell its hunger and pain to would be a policeman.

Again, though it is true that sufficient liberty for the work of finding these crimes out was possessed by ordinary citizens for various and obvious reasons they were not fitted for it. A neighbour of three locked-up children, whose loud cryings had subsided to moans, their moans to silence, when asked why he did not break open the door or at least give information to the authorities, gave expression to one of their reasons, "I finds it best to mind my own business." That is how things appear to the minds of shrewd practical people. Besides, in many cases those who know of what went on next door were possibly doing things as bad themselves, and as "evil communications corrupt good manners" and confirm bad ones, it came to pass that in "habitations of cruelty" neighbours had neither the motive nor the disposition to interfere. In such cases they failed the suffering child, and no one so far can impute blame to them. It was no more their business to interfere than anybody else's.

Once more, those people who had the disposition to act had neither the knowledge nor the training necessary to do so. To be fitted for the work a man must have a particular and fixed habit of mind. Going his way through the streets, the eye must be accustomed to look not at shops and carriages and people but at children. The heart must delight in the joys of children with marbles and skipping rope, and feel sadness and pain at the sight of the child who is limp and weary and sad and lifeless looking. The tendency of the botanist going to the field is to see its flowers, and the entomologist its insects. So going through the world the children's man must see its children, and seeing the miserable among them his vocation must be to use his judgment on them, to learn what is to be learnt as to the cause of their misery. To do this, much time and tact is required of him. He must be able to see through a stone wall, and to make a dumb child speak—for a fright-

ened, ill-used child is a dumb child, and its home is the secret place of its owner. It is because the society has met these conditions of discovery of cruelties to children that it has discovered them. It was because it was assumed that agencies which appeared to be sufficient were actually sufficient that cruelties existed and were undetected and unchecked. There was no just estimate of the relations which existed between what had to be done in the case and the police, the neighbours, and the ordinary citizen.

Limitations still further existed in the state of the law as regards the most elementary and vital duties of parents to their children. To prevent misconception let there be no mistake as to what the Society sought in this matter, proper parental discipline the Society would by all means in its power uphold. It never interferes with, much less does it prosecute mere parental indiscretions, nor any painful and hasty acts, even to the breaking of a limb, where there is abundant, genuine, and whole-hearted regret. These are never prosecuted. Only where there is absolute callousness or contempt and hatred of a child, where the pains and injuries inflicted on it are matters of utter difference, does it record the punishments of the law as both wise and necessary. In the exercise of reasonable chastisement the law protects parents; nor does the action of the Society afford the smallest grounds for fear that this necessary liberty will be interfered with. Its war is against domestic ruffians and famine makers, who at the time of its coming into existence were almost wholly a law to themselves. It was to alter that condition of things that the Society undertook its work.

1. A child had even no right of law to be treated reasonably, nor even to be fed.
2. Before a child's statement could be evidence it had to understand the nature of an oath, which was not possible to a young child.
3. An innocent parent (often the only witness of the inflictions of a child's injuries) could not give evidence on its behalf against the guilty one.

4. Unless it had money, however horribly guilty a wretch its parental owner might be, there was no authority which could give a child a new guardian.

5. If a child were being tormented in its owner's house, or locked up there to pine, neglected and alone, though in a manner likely to prove fatal, it was in nobody's power to give authority to get at it and rescue it.

6. Information had to be laid on its behalf. It could not lay it itself, it was nobody's business to lay it.

It is now two years since all this was so.

By changes made in the standing of children and their cases in courts a mighty lever has been given with which to uplift the sense of parental responsibility. But public sentiment is slow to come abreast of the law. The doctrine that all parents might be trusted to do what was natural and right—no longer the doctrine of the Statute Book—is still the doctrine of the nation. Rejoicing that the legal rights of a dog are secured, it is still contended that the legal rights of a child scarcely exist. Loud as to “the rights of parents,” it utters scarcely a word on the equal rights of children. With the popular and nonsensical maxim, “The Englishman's house is his castle,” it practically bars the door of the veriest wretches' hovel against justice. In its creed the basest dens of infamy should be strangely without the reach of Parliament or the Crown. This is not its sentiment as regards any offence against property, but is so as regards all offences against children. Much responsibility for the sufferings of children lay, and still lies, in these extravagant national sentiments as to parental and houserent-payers' rights. With these the nation washes its hands of all responsibility for whatever the home consequences may be of parental and rentpayers' spite and callousness and dissipation.

In that measure of change in these respects which the Society has wrought (and is still working) is the bottom reason for the unwelcome discoveries it has made, but primarily they are due to the Statute which it passed in 1889, known popularly as the “Children's Charter,” which legally entitles children to be clothed and fed and properly treated; to admission into courts; to the protection of the evidence of an

innocent parent; to limited hours of labour; to new guardianship when that is necessary for their welfare; and to other great benefits never possessed before; and to the admirable co-operation of the police.

To what extent the absolute trusting in all parents to do for their children what was right and natural, and to them had been wise is seen in the immediate effects of making parental starving and ill-treating illegal. The following is a table showing cruelty dealt with by the Society in the year *before* and the year *after* the passing of the Society's Act:—

Cruelty to children dealt with in 1888-9 and 1889-90.

	Twelve Months before.	Twelve Months after.
	September 1st, 1888, to August 31st, 1889.	September 1st, 1889, to August 31st, 1890.
Children involved	869	10,522
Offenders	453	4,066
Offenders warned	270	2,423
Offenders prosecuted	148	857
Percentage of conv'tns	77·42	90·89

The effects produced by the Act are still increasing in the same direction. It is only beginning to confer on children the rights of citizens, but it is doing it at the rate of 20,000 a year.

As regards Ireland it is scarcely touched yet; but the following figures of what has been found in those small areas which for short periods have a society's officer working in them show that, as in the rest of the three kingdoms, there are needlessly suffering children even in Ireland whose voices are not heard in the street.

Table showing the results of the Society's work in Ireland since the formation of its three Aid Committees—(one in Belfast at work six months; one in Cork at work nine months; and one in Dublin at work two years and a half):—

AID COMMITTEES		Total of Cases	Warned	Convicted	Discharged	Otherwise dealt with	Dropped, &c.	No. of Children Affected	Total Punishment	
									Yrs. Mths. Wks.	
BELFAST	132	78	27	2	23	2	281	2 5 2	10s. fines	
CORK	138	94	20	0	11	13	363	6 2 2	£5 fines	
DUBLIN	168	72	35	5	41	15	383	2 10 0	£5 5s. fines	
Grand Total...	438	244	82	percent. 92/13	7	75	30	1027	11 6 0	£10 15s. fines

THE ANALYSIS OF THE ABOVE CASES IS AS FOLLOWS:--

AID COMMITTEES	CLASSIFICATION						Total of Cases	Children Affected	HOW DEALT WITH			PENALTIES		CHILDREN INSURED	Cases ending in Death							
	General Ill-treatment	Assault	Neglect and Starvation	Abandonment and Exposure	Begging Cases	Dangerous, &c.			Immorality	Other Wrongs	Convicted	Discharged	Warned			Otherwise dealt with	Dismissed	Total Time of Imprisonment	Total Sum of Fines	Number known to be Insured	Total Sum Insured	
BELFAST.— April to Oct. 31st, 1891	14	94	3	17	5		132	281	27	2	78	23	2	2	5	2	0	10	0	58	272	4
CORK.—April to Oct. 31st, 1891	34	1	53	15	5	1	109	293	18		71	9	11	1	11	2	5	0	0			2
Jan. to Mar., 1891	11	1	12	3	2		29	70	2		23	2	2	4	3	0						2
Total...	45	2	65	18	7	1	138	363	20		94	11	13	6	2	2	5	0	0			4
DUBLIN.—April to Oct. 31st, 1891	5	1	38	8			52	121	19	2	16	2	13	1	9	0	0	5	0			1
1889/1890	4	4	11	1	3		19	31	2	1	11	5										
1890/1891	23	4	59	6	2	1	97	231	14	2	45	34	2	1	1	0	£5 & costs					5
Total...	32	5	108	15	5	1	168	383	35	5	72	41	15	2	10	0	5	5	0			6

TOTAL CASES, 438. Children involved, 1067.

The folly, may we not say the wickedness, of the old state of things is now made clear and certain.

But to understand this point fully an important consideration must be applied to these figures. They are of cruelties found in but one-fifth of the land. In four-fifths of it the Statute is as yet in little more than law volumes. There is no Children's Man to enforce it, and where that is so, crimes against children so far as statistics of what is discovered are concerned, is non-existent. With the same agency for children to population everywhere the figures would have arisen from before the Act, 4,395 to after it 52,610. Granting the general similarity of the conduct of evil-hearted people in England, Ireland, and Wales, is it not clear that those who preserve the arbitrary, plausible and self-complacent delusion that our civilisation has no cruelty to children in it, and who, either by opposition or indifference, prevent the establishment of the Society's agencies are responsible for the public's continued ignorance and of the brutes' continued practice of it in their own particular neighbourhood. Crimes committed against children there are, partially at least, theirs.

Remembering what are the discovered facts of that cruelty discovered in wide areas, including town and country almost equally, in manufacturing and agricultural districts, in high life and low, no man ought to treat even such merely possible responsibility lightly. Neither the highest place in the ranks of manhood, nor in that of citizenship, nor that of Christianity can belong to him who does not regard it with the greatest anxiety and pain. For in the light of what has become known, what is that possibility? Most of the victims have been young; many were babies, made habitually to feel the faintness of famine, the oppression of hatred, and scarifying and curses, with blows and kicks, and floggings with the oppressors' straps, pokers, ropes, boots, chairs, kettles, and frying pans; diggings into with prongs of fork and blade of knife; putting mustard oil into wounds; hanging up by the neck by a slip strap to a hook in the kitchen ceiling until black in the face and unconscious; thrusting a poker redhot through the closed lips into the mouth, burning lips, tongue and under the tongue; putting bare little thighs on top of hot ironing stove; making child grasp redhot poker; beat-

ing with a poker on the head, making, as the doctor called it a "ring of bruises" completely round it; throwing sick child out of the window, breaking arm and leg; deliberately taking off comforting plaster cast put on to little cripple at hospital, smashing it, throwing it under the bed, and leaving the puny creature to pine in pain again day and night; fixing big jaws of teeth in the fat of the thigh while child under bed for refuge, dragging it out, standing up with it, and shaking it "as a dog shakes a rat;" flinging a baby across a room at a wall; immersing for half an hour naked in freezing tank, out of doors; lying naked, to post in the yard, in the night; putting in yard for two hours tied in chair, child with bronchitis; deliberately taking off splints newly put upon broken leg, and of wantonness, making child go about so; sending child about with broken arm, of malice to it; and cruel starvations when there was plenty, and imprisonment in attics and coal cellars for days, without so much as a drop of water. And most of all these deeds scarcely known to the neighbours, and wholly unknown to those going as "visitors" by the little victims' door.

The conscience of no one can be void of reproach for these things, until every effort has been made to apply such test to his own town and country, as have elsewhere brought such shameful, abominable, incredible things to light. His justification for not making such an effort,—*"No cruelty here"*—has been the cry of leading persons in every single place from which these awful facts and figures above have been gathered. Such persons were misled by the superficial aspect of things, and now own it.

Granted that in particular localities spitefulness and cowardice, drunkenness and avarice may vary in both quantity and quality, yet the average of these things in every 100,000 of the population—the proportion appointed to a Society's inspector—is much the same. In this fact lies the justification of the Society's mission to the whole land, and its claim on the faith of its inhabitants. Surely the duty of every citizen, and, above all, of every Christian is to see that to the helplessness of childhood, is not added the pain of needless hunger, and the tears of tyranny and injustice.

BENJAMIN WAUGH.

OLD CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.

STUDENTS of history in the present day possess many advantages that were denied to their predecessors; not only is this true from the fact that many chronicles and other historical manuscripts have been printed, which in the days of Dr. Lingard and Bishop Milner existed only in manuscript, but record-offices and other depositories of manuscripts have been thrown open in most European countries, and in many instances their contents have been accurately callendared. True as the above is as to the raw materials used by the political historian, it is still more true as to those things which relate to the social and domestic history of the people.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the scholars of the last century wrote as if they did not know that their own forefathers ever had a history apart from that of kings and parliaments. A fragment of Roman pavement or a funeral urn was valued then as much as it is now. Anything, however trivial, which threw light upon, or could claim association with, the heathen Roman Empire was felt to be of undying interest, but it never seems to have occurred to anyone, except perhaps here and there a local antiquary of the type of Francis Blomefield, the industrious Norfolk historian, that manners and thoughts, joys and sorrows of our mediæval ancestors, were worthy of at least as much minute attention as the dress and arms of the legionaries, or the ornaments of a Roman lady's toilet-table. The consequence of this neglect has been that numberless records that we should now value have passed away beyond recovery.

There is a class of documents of especial interest, specimens of which must at one time have existed in almost every parish through the land, which has now become very rare. We allude to the account books of parish churchwardens. When the office of churchwarden was first established in this country we have no means of knowing. It is probably nearly as old as the introduction of Christianity. As soon as the Kingdom of God became a settled institution churches sprung up all

around. Many were doubtless new fabrics. We are certain that in some instances the heathen temples were adapted to Christian uses. It is obvious that these buildings and the burial grounds which surrounded them would require care and supervision. The needs of the worshippers were by no means confined to the fabric itself, and the God's-acre. Vestments, books, chalices, candlesticks, and many other objects were then, as now, required for use in the services. These were, of course, in a legal sense the property of the parish, and therefore it became necessary that certain persons should be appointed to take charge of them.

When light dawns upon us we find the churchwarden a recognised institution. There were usually two in each parish, but this was by no means the universal custom. In some small villages but one seems to have been chosen. In large parishes, made up of several hamlets, their number was sometimes much greater. Whether, however, they were few or many they were persons of great local dignity during their time of office, forming, as they did, not only the priests' advisers in the temporal matters relating to the church's services, but also as discharging many functions which have now been handed over by successive Acts of Parliament to more modern authorities. There were no poor-laws in Catholic times, but there were poor in the land then as now, and it was one part of the churchwarden's duty to see to their temporal wants. In many cases they discharged the functions now performed by the surveyors of the highways, and we find them sometimes constituted into masters of the revels, paying the expenses of strolling players when they came to amuse the rustics.

As far as we know church rates in a compulsory form did not exist in those days. Money sufficient for the Church's wants seems to have been freely given. The evidence, however, that has come down to our times is so very defective that it would be rash to make an affirmation of this kind. We should not be much surprised if, when the old episcopal registers come to be thoroughly overhauled, instances should be found of ill-conditioned folk being cited into the bishop's courts for refusing to give their quota to supply their Church's wants.

When the churchwardens began to keep their accounts in writing it is impossible to tell. In early days a tally or notched

stick was probably all the evidence they had to shew when they met their neighbours in the parish meeting. We know, however, that in some places Manor Court Rolls were kept as early as the reign of Henry the Third. It is therefore probable that the ecclesiastical accounts would be reduced to writing at about the same time. A few fragments may exist of earlier date, but the oldest churchwardens' accounts now in being which we have heard of are those of St. Michael's, Bath, which begin in 1345. They have been printed in a volume issued by the Somerset Record Society in 1890. Time has spared several examples of the succeeding century, and during the stormy times of religious change they became relatively common. Unfortunately, however, it is but in quite recent days that their value has become realised. Many have never been examined by those who can read them, and of those that are not unknown there are but few that have been printed in full. It need not be pointed out that extracts made by efficient scholars are far better than nothing, but records of this kind, which are so intimately connected with the lives of those who have gone before us, should certainly be given in full.

We have before us while we write a transcript of the accounts of Sutterton, a Lincolnshire village, which, like many of its sister parishes still possesses a fine church, containing examples of nearly every architectural style known in Mediæval England. We owe the preservation of this interesting record to the zeal of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, a non-juring minister, who died in 1735, leaving his collection of manuscripts to the Bodleian Library. It begins in 1483, which, we may remind our readers, was the last year of Edward the Fourth. Here, as in every other old account-book of this nature, the bills are constantly subjects of small charges. They were no doubt in constant use. We learn this incidentally from the writings of the puritan Phillip Stubbs, John Bunyan, and many like sources.

Our forefathers were fond of bell-ringing, and delighted in the sweet voices of the bells. The latter were used for secular as well as for religious purposes. Not only were they rung when a great man came to the town, or when a fire burst forth, but every morn and eve, as a sign when the stock was to be turned out on the commons and summoned home at night.

In the first year of these accounts the receipts were mainly derived from candles, sometimes the payment made by one person is as low as a penny, occasionally it reaches as high as tenpence. It would seem from the purchases of wax which occur in almost every church account we have seen of a date earlier than the reign of Edward the Sixth, that the churchwardens were in the habit of buying considerable quantities of wax, which they made into candles. Some of these were used in the parish services, others sold to the various devout persons who burnt them before the various altars, usually, as it would seem, as a devotion for the dead.

In 1484 we come upon a small payment for the repair of the "Kyrk house." The Church house is a feature of our rural life which has almost entirely passed out of memory. We believe that there is not a single example left in Britain which has been retained for its original purposes, though there are one or two old buildings that have some claim to be regarded as the remains of such structures. It is not easy to define what were the uses of the Church house. We shall not mislead our readers, perhaps, if we call it the public hall of the village, though it seems to have been used for many purposes to which the town halls of boroughs were not applied. Such evidence as has come down to the present time points to their having been one in almost every village. No one ever seems to have lived in the Church house, but it was used for every purpose of village life for which the sacred edifice itself would have been improper or inconvenient. At Sutterton we find lime stored therein. At Stratton, in Cornwall, it was let out at fair times to pedlars.* In other places it was used for the parish ale-feasts, and we have evidence of the malt, the armour, and the parish brewing vessels being stored therein. We have not seen evidence of the fact, but it was probably in the Church house that the candles of which we have spoken were run into moulds.

In 1490 we find the plough-light mentioned. Among the receipts is a sum of ten shillings paid by "Thomas Raffyn of ye plowlyth." Plough-guilds were very common in the eastern shires. We have met with them at Leverton,

* "Archæologia," vol. xli., p. 198.

Holbeach, Kerton-on-Lindsey, and Louth, all in Lincolnshire. The plough-light was no doubt the lamp or candle burned at the guild-altar. It would seem that some symbol, probably a plough, was also used, for when the Church of Holbeach was despoiled in the reign of Edward the Sixth one of the things disposed of was "The sygne wheron the plowyghe did stand."* In 1493 two pence was paid for a lock to the font. The grand old Norman Font of Lincoln Minster shows no traces of its ever having been locked; but this is a solitary example. In every other mediæval English font we have seen, traces may be found of the place of the staple to which the padlock for securing it was once hung. In the orders concerning the ornaments of churches, issued by Archbishop Winchelsey, we find that a lock to the font was to be provided, and among the decrees of the council of Durham, held in 1220, we find "Fontes sub sera clausi teneantur propter sortilegia."† We do not know what was the special sort of magic which it was here endeavoured to hinder. It would seem that in Cornwall fonts even in Protestant times had to be secured for the same reason. The water from the font has in comparatively recent times been used to make butter come.‡ In some parts of Europe these precautions have to be taken at the present time. The late Mr. Benjamin Webb found the font locked up, and behind a grating in the Church of Malalbergo.§

In 1497 we meet, for the first time, with a word which is of constant occurrence in documents of this sort. It assumes protean forms such as Witward, Wythewird, Quethwird and many others. The late Dr. Stratmann suggested that it was connected with the Icelandic *vitord*, a testament.|| In its English forms there can be no doubt that it signifies a legacy. Two years after this, that is in 1499, we find a mention of one penny being paid for silk to be used in mending the blue vestment. This is noteworthy as blue is not now one of the ecclesiastical colours, and some persons have assumed that it

* Marrat. Hist. Linc., vol. ii., p. 104.

† Wilkins. "Concilia" I., 576.

‡ W. G. Black. "Folk Medicine" (Folk Lore Soc.), p. 89.

§ "Continental Ecclesiology," p. 40.

|| "Dict. of Old English," II. Ed., p. 568, c.f. "Catholicon Anglicum" (E.E.T.S.) 422.

was never used in this country. In 1570 there is a small charge for a "lyne to the sacrament," that is a cord used for suspending the little box which contained the Blessed Sacrament. Tabernacles, as we know them, do not seem to have come into use in England before the reign of Mary the First. The little box containing the Blessed Sacrament was hung up over the high altar. It was commonly of precious metal, and in the form of a cup or globe, with crowns suspended over it. This vessel was enclosed in a thin veil of cloud-like muslin. Sometimes, though we believe rarely, it had the form of a dove.*

There are instances of this vessel being called, in irony, "the Bishop of Rome's Hatt" † The nickname was given by profane persons on account of the fancied likeness between the crowns by which it was surmounted and the Papal tiara. In Peasmore Church, in Berkshire, there was in the reign of Edward the Sixth a crowned pyx of this kind. The inventory tells us of "one canopy of black saye, hanging over the pyxe with three crownes." ‡ In 1512 we find recorded the purchase of two "maundes" for holy-bread. Maund signifies a basket. Though the word has died out of written English, we believe that it still survives in more than one of our dialects. The use of holy bread, though still common in France, has not been restored in this country, though the form of its benediction occurs on the missal. It seems to have been distributed in almost every parish. We do not call to mind ever having come upon a pre-reformation Church account which did not contain some mention of it. Every Catholic is aware that the holy-bread or eulogia has no connection with the blessed Eucharist, but this is a piece of knowledge which does not seem to be possessed by all Protestants. We have met with English travellers, who, having seen the distribution of the *Pain bénit*, have come home and assured their friends that they have seen in this or that Church in France the holy Eucharist given under the form of leavened bread.

Many examples, old and new, might be given. A grotesque one occurs in many editions of *As You Like It*. Shakespeare

* Dr. Rock, "Church of Our Fathers," Vol. III., part II., p. 206.

† Peacock. "English Church Furniture," p. 70.

‡ Money. "Church Goods of Berkshire," p. 30.

makes Rosalind say of Orlando, "His kissing is as full of sanctity as the touch of holy bread" (Act III, sc. iv). This has been constantly altered to the nonsensical form "holy-beard." We believe the emendation to be due, in the first instance, to Bishop Warburton. In the Oxford edition of *The Dramas*, 1743 (a work of great account in its day), the following idiotic note is given on this usage, "Meaning the kiss of charity from Hermits and holy men."

The giving of holy bread was one of the ceremonies to which our forefathers were much attached. One of the demands of the men of Devonshire, who, in 1549, tried to stem the rising tide of heresy, was that they should have holy bread and holy water every Sunday, and when these same persons besieged Exeter they had borne before them the blessed Eucharist under a canopy with crosses, candlesticks, banners, holy bread and holy water. *

These meagre extracts might have been almost indefinitely increased, but we have said enough to show how even the dull memoranda of parish officials throw light upon the religious customs of those who lived in days ere change was thought of. The last entries in the volume are of the year 1536, so that we must look elsewhere for facts which illustrate the changes that followed. The church accounts of Bishop Stortford were edited some years ago by Mr. J. L. Glasscock. As they cover the times of revolutionary change they are useful in tracing the progress of events. We are too much in the habit of thinking that the reformation came as a sudden blow. Henry the Eighth and his ministers, reckless as they were, dare not have ventured upon this. In 1540 the king's order was issued that an English bible of the largest volume should be provided for every church. It was not until two years after, that the authorities of Bishop Stortford felt called upon to obey these injunctions. In 1542 we find a charge "for a new bybill and the bryngyng home of it vis. id. This seems to have been the sole change. As far as we can gather the services for the present went on as in times past. The organs were in use, and the ordinary processions took place as they had done before the schism.

* "Cranmer Works" (Parker Soc.) I. 176. Heylin. "Ecclesia Restaurata" (E.H.S.) I. 158.

In 1547 we find destruction had begun. There is a charge of xvjd. for "taking downe of the things in the Roodeloft," that is, for removing the crucifix and its attendant figures of our Blessed Lady and Saint John. In 1550 there are obscure entries concerning the change of the services from Latin into English, and a charge for the purchase of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, a copy of which had been ordered to be exposed for the use of the people in all parish churches. In 1553, the first year of Mary, there are many entries pointing to the restoration of the Catholic rites. A rood is bought for which twenty shillings is paid, a pyx, a missal, a holy-water stoup, a cross, and other articles, for which smaller sums are paid.

In 1559 the last great change occurred. The altars are pulled down, the rood loft done away with, and the Ten Commandments set up in the Church—probably in the place where the rood had stood, though it was not uncommon to fasten them at the extreme east end of the choir. The writers of the times immediately succeeding these great changes were in the habit of representing this setting up of the decalogue in the sight of the people as a great change for the better, implying that before the time when it was to be seen limned on a board that the people were ignorant of the moral teaching of the Gospel. Such nonsense is not worth a serious answer, but it may be worth while to remark that whatsoever advantage was to be gained by the decalogue being before the eyes of the people, the arrangement was not a new thing introduced by Tudor legislators. In 1488 an inventory was taken of the ornaments of the Church of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, London, and among the pictures—tables, as they were called in those days—was one of the Ten Commandments.

We fear these disconnected extracts have already extended so far as to weary our readers. They might have been continued much further without exhausting the subject of religious change. From other points of view these old papers are of great value. There is no other source from which we can derive so clear a picture of what our old parish churches were like ere the hand of the spoiler came upon them. They have also no little interest for those who study the dialect and pronunciation of former days, and for the historian of prices they are invaluable.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

SAVING OUR SCHOOLS AND THEIR CATHOLIC TEACHING.

I.

LAST quarter we gave our opinion as to the way in which the Voluntary Schools may be saved. That opinion has been abundantly confirmed both by correspondence and conversations with a large number of representative persons. Politicians, and gentlemen in direct connection with the Education Department, have again and again expressed their conviction that the present calm is but a lull before the storm, and that we shall all do well to prepare to meet the inevitable establishment of local control, in some form or another, over the national or public elementary schools of the Kingdom. The plan to place that local control *in the hands of the parents* of the children under education, instead of *in the hands of rate-payers*, who have no claim whatever to step in between the parent and the child, was abundantly urged from both sides of the House of Commons last summer; and we gave last October such extracts from the speeches delivered in Parliament and by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, with the hearty adhesion of Convocation and of the National Society, that we need do no more now than refer to them.

In some parts of England the plan sketched out has already been inaugurated with considerable and most promising success. In one large Church of England school a committee of twelve parents has been formed, and an altogether new educational enthusiasm has sprung up to the great satisfaction of the clergyman and of all concerned. But we learn from the Church school papers that their movement spreads slowly.

Among Catholics, so far as we have learnt, the first efforts have been all that could have been hoped for. That there should be a considerable amount of indifference among parents, especially among the parents of the poor, is what had to be expected. It is simply a question of educating our people to take an interest in matters which are of a higher order than

the supply of their own material wants. And this, no doubt, is a task that we must resolutely undertake, or we shall at last find ourselves isolated and handed over in everything that concerns "Public Administration" to those more keenly interested and more intelligent members of the population, who have no sympathy whatever with Catholic education. That local control, or local administration, is going to be the order of the day, wherever "public money" has to be expended is, humanly speaking, almost as certain as death and taxes. So far as the experience of three months is concerned, we are assured, by those who have knowledge, that there is every reason to be thoroughly satisfied with the way in which the scheme explained in our last number has been working in Catholic missions. The priests have thrown themselves into the policy, the people have expressed satisfaction in a solution which takes them into confidence, and there can be no reasonable doubt but that a strong and popular system of management is in course of formation. That there should be a supreme Diocesan Board, having power to decide disputes and local contentions, is of the essence of the scheme. Upon this we need not insist upon the present occasion.

What we now desire is, to place before our readers another aspect of the policy for local control by parents instead of by ratepayers, which is well worth their careful consideration. We have almost a consensus among the leaders of the Church of England, and among politicians well disposed to the Voluntary system, that unless the Voluntary schools establish "local parental control," the State will step in and establish "local ratepayers' control." Now, suppose the Church of England, instead of rising to the invitation of its leaders, miserably fails to make the necessary exertion upon any broad national basis, and hangs on as long as it can to the one-man-management system, where shall *we* be when the crisis comes? This is an extremely pertinent and important question. There is a common feeling that the educational interests of the Catholic Church and of the Church of England are closely linked together,—that we must share alike, and stand or fall together. The Church people frequently remind us of this, not without an air of patronage and of half-concealed superiority. We do not altogether share this view of the matter. Let us say

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frankly that the alliance is a very doubtful one. We know what our principles are, we know what we want, we know what we condemn, we know where we stand. Can the same be said of the Church of England? A temporary alliance with the Church in the matter of elementary education may suit both parties, as long as both are thoroughly sound and trustworthy. But can we implicitly trust the Church party in this matter of education? We say, No; and for the following reasons:—

1. A State Church must eventually go with the State. It has no independence of its own. Sections may stand out, but the body of bishops, ministers and officials will and must conform to the State policy, whenever that is sufficiently defined.

2. Is the Church of England very much in earnest in its opposition to School Boards? It has shown a policy of timidity, if not of acquiescence, from the beginning. It pleads for its own life, but its life is now to be found in the Board Schools. More than half the children in Board Schools belong to the Church of England. Of the 20,000 certificated teachers in Board Schools, over half, some say very much over half, belong to the Church of England.—Excellent and edifying Churchmen have assured us that they prefer Board Schools to Church Schools, because religion (*i.e.* the Bible) is taught better in the former than in the latter.—The Parson hesitates very little indeed about giving over his school to the Board, especially if he feels the shoe pinch. An increasingly large number of Church of England Schools have already gone over to the Boards.—A Church of England Guild urges the surrender of all Church Schools to the Boards as a matter of faith and piety, and, we must add, as a matter of comfort for needy clergymen. The *Weekly Churchman* openly commends the same policy. The Anglican Bishops have no power to hinder the surrender of a Church of England School. This depends on the rector or the trustees. It appears, then, that the Church of England is growing up in the Board Schools. Whatever may be the objection raised against them by the supporters of Church Schools, that objection, we very much

fear, is political, sectional, limited, and declining in point of volume and of force.

3. While the Church of England is in alliance with us in opposing the Board School system, it is insensibly but really betraying us by its close and real connection with the enemy. The time will come when the Church of England may say, "Why object any longer to Board Schools? We fill them with our own. We are in a majority within their walls. Let the old system die gently and honourably, but let the new grow ever stronger, and let it become instinct with our life and spirit. There is but one party that will be undone, but one that will be crushed, the Church of Rome, "the Italian Mission;" but this also serves our turn."

4. The political objection urged by Churchmen against Board Schools is perhaps their strongest. The Church School is a decided vantage ground of power to the Church; but time and circumstances modify and obliterate political objections, and the Church School, as an essential part of the Church system may be found unnecessary when it can no longer be retained with sufficient ease. As to the religious objection, all we need say is that the religious objection of Catholics and that of Protestants to Board School Education are so different in kind and degree that they cannot, except for political convenience, be placed together on the same platform. Religious objections of the Church of England! Is not its modern, its boasted, note one of comprehension? A religion that comprehends every tenet from the Gorham to the Lincoln decisions, will not be squeamish in adopting the kind of religious instruction that may be in accordance with the views of the majority of the ratepayers, who may also be members of the Church of England. Depend upon it, that the Anglican Establishment will accommodate itself like a rich state pillow to whatever pressure the State may put upon it, and will declare that adaptability with comprehensiveness is a distinguishing note of the true Church.

Finally, while such are the silent omens of the future, we must admit that we see no very hopeful sign of a determined

movement among the Anglican clergy. Many of their bishops see into the future clearly enough, and have wisely given notes of warning. But they are in despair with the languor of the incumbents. They do not possess that authority which Catholic bishops have over their priests. The magnificent loyalty and obedience of the Catholic clergy to their bishops is unknown outside the Catholic Church. The Anglican clergy are also constitutionally slow to move. There are many reasons why their schools will be found just as they are, when the whirlwind comes. They don't like change; many are wedded to a mild parochial despotism, and don't care to place their schools on a broader basis; oftentimes their trust-deeds will not allow them to make any modification in their boards of management. Then there are a multitude of bonds and influences of a domestic kind, in which the comfort, happiness, and future of wife, sons, and daughters play insensibly a large part. May not all these things be reasons for leaving the schools just where they are, or for making peace with the Board School system on the best terms obtainable, whenever the crisis comes? "What reason," they may say, "for alarm or action? The National Church conforms to the national mind and feeling." Such then may be our ally. Let us be on our guard.

One other point ought to be borne in mind, as to the heartiness of the alliance between the Church party and ourselves, on this education question. The Bishop of Manchester has publicly declared—and others have spoken in the same sense—that come what may Catholics shall never obtain better terms than Churchmen in the matter of elementary education. One thing they will never tolerate is, that the Catholics of England shall ever receive exceptional treatment. They say, in other words, if the ship is to founder and sink, we, the majority, will take precious good care that no one shall escape. If a rope or a plank be thrown to any of our friends, it shall be struck out of their hands. If the majority have to perish in the waters, the majority declare that it will secure to itself this satisfaction, that the minority shall perish also, that not one shall escape! We say nothing of the Christianity of this view of the case,—perhaps we have no right to expect Christianity in any such conjuncture; but we say that the allies, who can

treat us to such warnings, are but feebly indeed attached to the principle of Christian education.

And now to come to our main point. The religious and educational claim of Catholics in England stands absolutely alone as a matter of conscience. Protestants of all sorts accept Board School education. Catholics cannot conscientiously do so. Mr. Morley and Mr. Mundella have seen this, and they have named Catholics and Jews together as two exceptional classes, whom the State is bound to consider. In the matter of education the Catholics of England cannot be treated differently to the Catholics of Ireland, without gross disregard to the rights of conscience. Now it is abundantly possible that we may find ourselves deserted by the Church of England, and that we may have to fight our battle alone. Let us be prepared for the eventuality. And let us prepare by conforming to the spirit of the age, so far as we conscientiously can. If, when the time comes for settling this "local control" question, we can say—"We have met you half way, we have established local control by parents whose children frequent our schools, we have abandoned the one-man-manager system, everything is public and aboveboard, leave us to ourselves, treat us exceptionally, we conscientiously reject the religious direction provided by ratepayers, we cannot accept their schools for our children,"—we shall have placed ourselves in a strong position. And if, for the reasons given above, the Church of England has not met the British public half way, but has hung back, our claim for exceptional treatment will be further strengthened by having *created for ourselves* an exceptional position. The Catholics of England are a small body, but they are united, generous, and self-sacrificing. Nothing is needed by our clergy and laity but the organisation of a strong School policy, which will weld priest and people together, and will command the respect of the whole country. We ought to establish local control of the kind spoken of. If we have this, we need have no fear of demanding our fair share in the rates. For there would be no objection to adding to a strong Catholic Board of Management any representative of the ratepayers, whose business should be strictly limited to see to the expenditure of the money rate. But unless

we organise ourselves betimes we may become like a ship without a rudder, at the mercy of the waves of popular opinion, when the school question comes on for settlement.

II.

Non-Catholics are often puzzled by the importance which Catholics attach to having a Catholic school, and cannot see why we should not, like all sorts of Englishmen, be satisfied with well-managed Board Schools. It is vital to our interests in the future that the non-Catholic public should learn what we mean by Catholic Education. They imagine that it consists in learning catechism and saying certain prayers; whereas it is something far more than this. Catholic Education means the regular training of the will and the heart, upon the motives and principles set forth by the Catholic religion. It means teaching the young to love, to give their affections to, Divine Persons, whose presence is to be brought frequently before their mind. The Catechism is a mere collection of axioms or propositions covering a science. It is the working them out, the applying them in detail, which constitutes the chief part of Catholic Education. The mind and character having to be formed upon the motives of religion, the whole life and conduct of Catholic youth must be moulded by, coloured and seasoned with, Catholic principles.

This is no easy task. It cannot be accomplished during an hour's teaching in a Sunday School. The wayward will and heart, the unformed character, must be the special solicitude of teachers day by day, during the years given to education. If the mind and memory need constant attention during five days in the week for eight or nine years, in order to acquire a modicum of secular knowledge, it is not surprising that the will, the heart, and the character should also require constant care and attention. In a Catholic school the indirect teaching and training are quite as important as the direct. Pictures, crucifixes and religious emblems, little devotional practices that occupy only a few seconds, as for instance when the clock strikes, all help to create the formative influences to which we attach so much importance. Then, again, the motives placed before children when they are corrected, aye, and the motives constantly placed before them for the performance of their

most ordinary duties, belong to Catholic Education. Hence the need of teachers trained in a Catholic spirit, as well as in the knowledge of their religion; hence the need of a Catholic atmosphere in our schools; hence, again, that strongly marked character peculiar to a Catholic school, which will always render a Catholic school unsuitable for children who are to be brought up as rank Protestants.

While the spirit of the world, and the whole weight of Government influence has been cast into the scale of secular instruction,—its awards, its payments and distinctions being reserved solely to proficiency in secular learning,—the Bishops, as watchful guardians over the eternal welfare of their flock, have done everything in their power to promote the higher interests of Catholic education. Years ago they established four Training Colleges, which they placed under the direction of ecclesiastical or religious men and women, so that Masters and Mistresses might come forth from them, permeated with the spirit of Catholic teachers, and as well qualified as any in England to teach the three R's. Within the last year a system of diocesan religious Inspection was strongly urged by the Catholic School Committee, and it has been adopted with great benefit to all. It has been followed up by examinations in religion and various kinds of encouragement to attend to the all important religious side of education.

In this great formative work of religious Education, which is the only *raison d'être* of distinctively Catholic schools, the Masters and Mistresses have rendered noble service. They also, like all the members of a purely missionary church, have been and are exposed to dangers and temptations. And they have won universal admiration by the manner in which they have loyally stood together. Outside of the Catholic Church there is a great body of over 60,000 Teachers whose standard of a teacher's duties is different to ours. No Teacher could accept their standard and be in reality a Catholic Teacher, whatever he might be in name or in private life. But, though worldly inducements have not been wanting to Catholic Teachers to make common cause with the Protestant Teachers of England, they have, *as a body*, withstood every temptation, and have contented themselves with forming an Association of their own, which shall be

Catholic in name, in aim, and in spirit. This is as it should be. While the Catholics of England are massing and drilling, like a little army that may have to fight for the legitimate rights of parents to educate their children in their own religion, it is highly important that the body of Catholic Teachers should be publicly seen to be marshalled under the same banner, and to be entirely cut off, by an act of their own, from all who are working on different religious principles.

It is interesting to observe how the Bishops are continuously and gradually developing the policy which underlay the establishment of distinctively Catholic Training Colleges. It could not be otherwise. As materialism and secularism advance and attack the camp of Christian education, so must the generals fortify the citadel, and bind its champions more closely together in the service of their Divine Master.

The Bishops seem to have had nothing more at heart than to raise the social status of the Teachers, to associate them in their character of Catholic Instructors of youth more closely than ever with the clergy, and to provide for their material and temporal comfort. This is a work not to be accomplished in a day; to be solid and permanent it must be the result of a steady and healthy growth. The evidence of their lordships' policy is to be seen in the series of their acts.

Three years ago in their Low Week Meeting the following resolutions were passed:—

1. The Bishops resolved to renew the Resolution which was agreed to in the Low Week Meeting of 1886, in respect to the removal of Teachers, which was as follows:

"That, in order to encourage Teachers of Elementary Schools by adding further stability to their position, no Manager shall give notice of dismissal to any Head Teacher, whether male or female, without having conformed to certain precautionary measures, which shall be prescribed by the Bishop of the Diocese, to guard against the danger of arbitrary dismissal. The following may be found useful as suggestions: namely, that no Manager shall dismiss a Teacher (except for gross or notorious misconduct, or for repeated bad reports from the Diocesan or Government Inspectors and serious failures at examinations), without having laid the grounds for such dismissal before two impartial persons, such, for instance, as the Vicar-General and the Rural Dean, or the Assistant Managers of the School, or other person approved by the Bishop; and shall not dismiss the Teacher in opposition to the united judgment of the same."

2. The Bishops agreed to form some scheme for retiring pensions.
3. They also agreed to recognise publicly the religious character of the office of School-Teacher.

In pursuance of the above, in their Low Week Meeting of last year they determined to place before the Teachers in the larger Dioceses the form of a Religious Guild, which, subject to any necessary modifications and improvements, should give to Catholic Teachers a canonical constitution and place them in a recognised rank of honour and privilege. Of course, Membership in such a Guild must be entirely voluntary, for were it compulsory, it would be shorn of grace and honour. Nor would it preclude Membership in any other Catholic Association. The following are the rules and principles of the proposed Guild, which is now under the consideration of the National Union of Catholic Teachers of Great Britain.

RULES AND PRINCIPLES.

1. The Guild is open to all Catholics of either sex engaged in teaching in Catholic schools.
2. To become a member nothing more is necessary than acceptance of the principles and rules of the Guild and enrolment by an authorised person.
3. The Guild is based upon the fundamental principle that the office of teacher of Catholic youth is a religious office closely uniting those who duly discharge its obligations with Our Blessed Saviour, and with the pastors whom He has sent to convert and teach the world. From this it follows that the profession of a Catholic teacher deserves a higher kind of reverence and honour than that which is given to any purely secular profession or occupation.
4. Fully recognising the sacred character of their profession the members of the Guild will endeavour to bear constantly in mind how precious in the eyes of God are the souls of the children committed to their care for education. They will treat them with great reverence as the children of God, and will train and mould their lives and conduct upon the principle and motives of Faith.
5. They will endeavour to place instruction in religion upon a higher level than ordinary school work, and will aim especially at attaching the minds and hearts of the children to the Sacred Person of our Divine Lord and to the Church which He founded in His own most precious Blood.
6. The members of the Guild will readily recognise that this high office is subordinate to that of the clergy, whose co-helpers they are, and that they are, therefore, bound to second and obey the directions of the priest in all matters connected with the training of the little lambs of His flock in the knowledge and practice of religion.

7. The Guild shall have a President, Vice-Presidents, Executive Committee, and Secretaries elected by the members every three years.

8. In each Diocese in which the Guild is established, the Bishop will nominate a chaplain to watch over the interests of the members of the Guild within the Diocese. He will be an ex-officio member of the Guild.

9. An Annual Meeting shall be held in one or more convenient centres for conference on matters connected with education and with the other interests of the Guild.

From this it will be seen that the intention is to give to the members of the Guild Diocesan Chaplains, who shall be thoroughly in sympathy with the Teachers, and who shall represent their interests and defend their cause, if need be, before the Bishop of the Diocese. The general principles being accepted, the Guild will be self-governing and independent, under the patronage of the Bishops.

It was proposed to attach three kinds of privileges to the Guild; Indulgences, a *Missio Canonica*, and a Pension Fund. As to the first nothing need be said. The *Missio Canonica* is an official Diploma given by the Ordinary, testifying that the bearer is recognised by the Church as a Teacher of the Catholic religion, under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical authority. It will be to the Teacher, wherever he goes, a Diploma of honour, which he will value as the priest values the Diploma which sets forth his ecclesiastical faculties. It will be an enrolment in an Order of religious service, springing, like the mediæval Guilds and Associations, out of the needs of the day, and will be respected throughout the Catholic Church. The Pension Fund has been already anticipated by the Bishops, and that in a more generous manner than was contemplated by the Guild, because no contribution towards it is to be asked of the Teachers.

What strikes us in the Guild, and in the action of the Bishops, is the solicitude of the hierarchy not only to raise the status of the Teachers and to place them in honour, but to provide for their temporal necessities. The Bishops, as true Fathers, seem to be thoroughly alive to the requirements as well as to the difficulties of Catholic Education, in the midst of such an atmosphere and of such a population as that of England. By their latest act, anticipating a privilege contemplated for the Guild, they have determined at once to create a retiring pen-

sion for the Masters. This is a recognition of the need of a financial improvement, which will no doubt extend in other directions. The question of salaries has still to be considered, but, where poverty reigns in the place of wealth, it becomes exceedingly complicated. We cannot, however, help noting with a smile, that the National Union of Catholic Teachers has set up, as the publicly recognised standard of payment for Teachers, the salaries paid by School Boards. Now, everyone knows that the School Board salaries have been fixed as bribes to attract the best teachers. The School Boards have had to compete with the Voluntary Schools, and they have bid high for success; they have easily outbid the managers who depend on voluntary contributions. Their public credit has greatly depended on their power of attracting away from the Voluntary Schools the best teachers that come out of the Denominational Training Colleges. The extravagance of many School Boards in the matter of salaries has been on a par with their extravagance in other spending departments. But the whole of this question needs a much fuller treatment than can be given to it at the end of an article, which has dealt chiefly with a policy for saving our schools and Catholic teaching.

EDITORIAL.

Science Notices.

Jupiter and his Satellites.—The first satellite of Jupiter has of late unexpectedly, and we are now almost sure, undeservedly, fallen under a suspicion of "duplicity." Observing it in transit across the disc of its primary on September 8th, 1890, at the Lick Observatory, Professor Barnard perceived it to be distinctly double; and Mr. Burnham, called in as an expert for consultation on the strange appearance, averred that no pair of stars within his wide acquaintance showed a clearer line of separation. If these be in actual fact a corresponding reality, the Jovian system includes a sub-system of very singular organization. For it must be composed of two bodies, each about one thousand miles in diameter, mutually revolving in a period of a few days at a distance apart, estimated from centre to centre, of probably little more than two thousand miles. Moreover, the plane of their orbit must be nearly perpendicular to that of Jupiter's motion round the sun, as well as to the practically coincident one of their motion round Jupiter. This is in itself an unlikely circumstance; and the entire arrangement resulting from the supposition of a double satellite has no known precedent, and could only be admitted as substantially existing on irrefragable evidence. Such evidence is not, however, at present forthcoming.

During the remarkable transit in question, the satellite was, by its comparative obscurity, thrown into relief upon the more lustrous planetary background. But on August 3rd, 1891, owing to the line of projection being upon the dusky southern equatorial belt, the same body was seen by Professor Barnard, throughout its passage, as a bright object. No duplication, accordingly, was this time observed, but instead, very marked elongation. The moving body appeared oval, its longer axis pointing in the direction of its progress. Yet these at first sight inconsistent appearances find reconciliation in an explanation proposed by Professor Barnard himself. For if the satellite be cut in two, as it were, by a brilliant equatorial belt, the obscure polar segments will show, during *dark* transits, as separate but juxtaposed objects, the belt between vanishing in the planetary radiance; while, during *bright* transits, like that of last August, the belt alone will be visible in the form of a luminous ellipse, the less

reflective parts on either side of merging into Jupiter's horizontally extended shadings. This hypothesis is for the present, generally acquiesced in by astronomers, and seems to account satisfactorily for the different aspects of the transiting body. It implies, however, a closer analogy of constitution than might have been expected between planet and satellite; since the similiar and almost parallel markings of each must probably owe their origin to a similiar set of conditions. Among these are likely to be found the piling-up of cloud-forms in a profound vapourous atmosphere, and a rapid axial rotation. Nevertheless, the view that the visible disc of Jupiter is, in any sense, of atmospheric production, is rejected by Professor Barnard, who holds it, on the contrary, to be a true planetary surface, though in a plastic or pasty condition, the belts and markings being merely discolourations in this due to internal eruptions.

The question can, just at present, be studied to more than usual advantage.

Jupiter's surface has of late exhibited rapid and conspicuous changes, indexes, no doubt, to internal commotions of especial vehemence. These outbreaks, in the northern hemisphere, have chiefly taken the form of small, sharply-defined, round black spots, often connected with odd looking "horse-tail" streaks emanating from the adjacent dusky belt; and they seem like a reproduction of a similar group occupying precisely the same position in the year 1880. In the southern hemisphere, on the other hand, the new spots observed have been in general either white or red. The famous "great red spot," which has now been carefully watched during upwards of thirteen years, has not only regained much of its pristine brilliancy, but acquired a companion, distinguished as the "*long* red spot." Should this appendage prove to be of lasting quality, the determination of its relations with the original formation will be of great interest. One of the peculiarities of the latter is that other markings are never seen to encroach upon it. They appear rather to make room for it, and get out of its way. As Professor Barnard notices, it exercises at least the semblance of a repulsive power over any streaks, belts, or spots that come into its vicinity. All of these—and this is a highly significant fact—rotate more quickly than the red spot. They drift past it accordingly, borne onwards, perhaps, by atmospheric currents; for none of them can be supposed stationary as regards the actual surface of the planet. The great spot itself is certainly *not* rooted in Jovian soil, or anchored in whatever Serbonian bog of semi-condensed material may represent the Jovian substance. If it were, its time of rotation should be absolutely

fixed, which is not. Unless, indeed, the body of the planet be molten, and the spot carried to and fro by lava-currents in a lava-ocean. But, in that case, the permanence and definiteness of its form would be unaccountable. The great red spot thus remains an enigma. The hypothesis, however, of a periodicity in the display of markings on Jupiter corresponding to the periodicity of sun spots has of late received a good deal of confirmation. For the present simultaneous revival, both in the sun and in the greatest of his dependants, of symptoms of interior agitation, can scarcely be fortuitous.

The Zodiacal Light.—Dr. M. A. Veeder, of Lyons, N.Y., has recently advanced a theory of the Zodiacal Light differing in several respects from the views hitherto held as to its nature. That the faint luminous cone extending along the ecliptic “is a solar appendage, but not a part of the sun’s atmosphere,” is indeed so obviously true that one can hardly understand its being disputed; and a very short further step leads to the inference that “the Zodiacal Light is an extension of the Solar Corona.” From this point, then, the American physicist’s originality may be said to begin. He supposes a two-fold zodiacal extension corresponding to the bifurcated aspect of the corona during total eclipses at times of maximum sunspots, and to the distribution of these last in two zones of the sun’s surface north and south of the Solar Equator. The matter composing the “Light” accordingly spreads outward—if this hypothesis be correct—in two wide sheets from the spot-zones; and some slight annual alterations in its position and outlines are plausibly explained as due to varying effects of perspective depending upon the earth’s changes of situation relative to the two planes of effusion. When, however, sunspots are reduced to a minimum, the bifurcated masses of the corona merge into a single great equatorial wing, and a similar modification of form might be expected to manifest itself in the zodiacal light, if it be truly supplied from the store-house of coronal material. This test of Dr. Veeder’s theory has yet to be applied. It ought to prove decisive.

The enigmatical radiance, which is sometimes seen, even in these latitudes, to shoot up from the west towards the zenith on fine March evenings, a couple of hours after sunset, consists mainly, as the spectroscope shows, of reflected solar rays. That the reflecting material is of a meteoric nature has often been supposed, but has not yet been proved. It is then somewhat hazardous to assume—as our present author does—that all the separate little bodies constituting the supposed swarm are “siderites,” that is to say, meteorites of ferruginous composition; and serve altogether as the transmitting medium by which electrical impulses originating in the

sun, are conveyed to the earth. The zodiacal light might, if this were so, be called the nervous system of the solar and planetary organism. It would be the bearer of influences which, for aught that we can tell, may be indispensable for the maintenance of life upon our globe. Thus, the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism with their accompanying auroral displays, are brought into immediate relations to it, their predominant occurrence in spring and autumn being ingeniously associated with the passage of the earth, first through one, then, at an interval of six months, through the other of the two conducting discs composing, we are asked to believe, this mysterious solar appendage. Dr. Veeder further alleges evidence of auroral periodicity in $27\frac{1}{4}$ days, the time of the sun's synodical rotation, as it is called, or its rotation as regards the moving earth; and this implies the localisation on the sun's surface of each temporary seat of magnetic disturbance. Such effects are, indeed, often distinctly traceable to limited solar areas, marked out by the presence of groups of active spots, or more rarely, by the occurrence of some luminous outbreak. And the maximum power of these agitated regions appears to be exerted at their emergence on the eastern limb, when they are in course of rotational approach to the earth. The whole subject has a most important bearing on the physics of the solar system, and Dr. Veeder has at least succeeded in providing a working hypothesis which will certainly prove helpful as a means of co-ordinating observed facts.

The Capture Theory of Comets—The theory of comet-capture is once more in the ascendant. It has long been notorious that each of the great planets—and Jupiter more especially—owns some cometary clients, bodies whose excursions into outer space are approximately limited by the sphere of the planetary orbit; and the inference was irresistible that planetary attraction had been the efficient cause of the conversion of their nearly parabolic paths into moderately elongated ellipses. But when the problem of determining exactly how this could have happened came to be worked out in detail, certain difficulties arose, and doubts overclouded for a time the cheerful certainty of imperfect knowledge. For a time only M. Callandreaux's learned discussion has come to the rescue, showing quite clearly the mechanical possibility of the captures in question. Thus, of twenty "short-period" comets, all, with one exception, may very well have become what they are through having once, or several times, fallen under Jupiter's influence in such a manner as to have their velocity reduced from the parabolic to the elliptical measure. The one body recalcitrant to this

explanation is Encke's comet, quickest in its revolutions of all known members of its class. Its permanence in the solar system remains, then, strictly speaking, unaccounted for; but Mr. Plummer's surmise that Mercury was concerned with it in the same manner that Jupiter was with so many analogous introductions receives a good deal of support from the circumstances of the case. In others, where the inferior planets were certainly not concerned as primary agents in the captures effected, they have probably played a secondary part by modifying cometary orbits through the perturbing effects of their attraction, now accelerating, now retarding motion, at one moment ratifying the arrest imposed by Jupiter, at another aiding a new-made prisoner to escape.

An important result of M. Callandreau's investigation accordingly is to discountenance the idea of any original distinction between the various classes of comets. Their present diversity—so far as status is concerned—results essentially from the vicissitudes to which they have been individually exposed. All alike were, to start with, strangers to the organisation of our system. They entered it casually, and by way of adventure. Those that have become its denizens are relatively few—a mere insignificant fraction of the multitudes that have flitted in and away without pause, hindrance, or return.

Forest Fires at Mount Hamilton.—On the night of July 20th last, two men camping out in the neighbourhood of the Lick Observatory accidentally set the brushwood in a blaze. In a Californian summer a seed of fire once planted germinates rapidly, and within twenty hours the flames had entered the domain or "reservation" of that establishment. The danger was at once seen to be formidable, but counteracting efforts were sadly hampered by scarcity of labour, and the battle which had, under dire penalties to be fought and won, devolved largely upon the astronomers themselves. The first measure was to cut a "trail" six feet broad through the brushwood in front of the advancing flames; and this it was necessary to defend like a rampart held by a scanty but vigilant garrison against swarming assailants. These severe exertions were temporarily successful. After three days and nights of almost incessant toil the enemy retreated, and was thought to be overcome. The hope, however, was prematurely entertained. The flames smouldered for a while, then tried another approach to the Cañon Negro—a ravine separating the rocky peak upon which the Observatory stands from the adjacent heights. A fresh alarm was accordingly raised, further assistance was sent for, long trails

were run along the hillsides, "back fires" set going in order to produce, if possible, a diversion of the menacing line of march; and at last the desired end was attained of effectually isolating the conflagration. "The experience," Professor Holden says, "has been a novel one to all of us. Some idea of the force of the fire may be had by recalling the fact that all the chapparal (brushwood) on a steep hillside was completely burned up in twelve minutes, the area burned over being at least 240,000 square feet. At one time the astronomers were obliged to defend a crest something like half a mile long, and to prevent the flames from crossing it while the fire was burning fiercely along the whole long line. The flames rose thirty, forty, or even fifty feet in the air, making a terrific heat which had to be faced. If the fire is not stopped on the farther side of such a crest, but is allowed to cross the ridge, the hither slope is sure to be fired by the pine cones which, once lighted, cannot be put out, and which roll down the hither slope igniting everything they touch. Every leaf and tree is like tinder in the midst of our long summer, and burns freely. No water was available for extinguishing this fire, and dirt had to be shovelled on the flames instead. The water in the reservoirs is necessary to our daily life, and moreover it had to be carefully saved in case of possible danger to the Observatory itself." This may serve as a specimen of the adventures and out-of-the-way experiences often included in a career of star gazing. The ends of the earth and the summits of mountains are not reached and occupied without passing through many and diverse material vicissitudes.

Notes on Social Science.

Four Schools of Political Economy.—Ten years ago economic studies in England were in a very languishing state, the old political economy discredited, and justly so, and nothing new put in its place.

But now, if it is not profane to transfer to the lofty regions of science the phraseology of the market-place, there is a boom in economics. It started, as far as works written in English are concerned, in America, which, having fallen under the intellectual supremacy of Germany, began to be taught in earnest the doctrines

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of the historical school which predominated in the political and economic science of the Germans. And the fruit was a revived interest in economic subjects, many books and articles, and notably two great quarterlies started about six years ago—the “Quarterly Journal of Economics,” published at Boston, and the “Political Science Quarterly,” published at New York.

The latter has frequently been noticed in this REVIEW, and the two numbers before us now, for December and March last, show no falling off in interest and ability. The article by M. Charles Gide, on Political Economy in France, gives an admirable summary of the decay and recent revival of the science in his own country. The decay is promoted and the revival resisted by the vast power and ruthless boycotting exercised by the *Institut de France*, that great literary octopus little understood by happy foreigners not enfolded in its limbs. Its action and the present state of economics in France is set forth by M. Gide in English, not merely good, but better than nine-tenths of the English written by Englishmen; and although himself alien to the Catholic school, he neither ignores nor reviles it.

France, in fact, has now joined the economic movement and shows, like Germany, and like ourselves, the four chief schools striving for supremacy over students and statute-books. First, there is the *old school*, so-called classical orthodox, dealing with economic men not real men, and in France desperately optimistic (if the “bull” be permitted), and very old-fashioned and fusty, and by no means decked out with the fine new clothes with which in England Professors Sedgwick and Marshall, and in Austria a body of writers known as the Austrian school, are trying to make the ugly old body of orthodox political economy look pretty. In France, the “*Journal des Economistes*” is the organ of this school. Then there is the *Socialist School*, the national fruit of the classical school, and which have for their organ the “*Revue Socialiste*.” Thirdly, comes the *historical school*, already ancient in Germany, but not long existing as a school amongst ourselves and quite new in France, where the “*Revue d'Economie Politique*,” their organ, was started only in 1887. Last, but not least, comes the *Christian* or *Ethical School*, in France somewhat divided according as they tend to assign a larger sphere to State action with Comte de Mun and the *Association Catholique*, or a lesser sphere with M. Claudio Jannet and the *Réforme Sociale*. But these divergences can hardly long survive the great Encyclical on the labour question; and the ethical school will appear in France as in Germany, England, and America, the only one that will stand the test of sound philosophy and true history,

and the only one, therefore, that can give a really scientific answer to the socialist school.

In England, the year 1890 witnessed the formation of the British Economic Association, and in March, 1891, appeared the first number of its journal, styled the "Economic Journal," and which being, like the Association itself, open to all schools and parties, is likely to be of great value to those who know how to select and appraise the different articles. But for all students who are not "old hands," and for the general public it seems dubious whether they will not gain more bewilderment than profit from the simple juxtaposition without note or comment of contradictory statements and of doctrines based on contradictory first principles. And the hope of uniting all economists, as the editor puts it, in "a brotherly search for truth," appears, in view of the history and present state of economic science, more pathetic than reasonable. Indeed, the weak point, both of the Association and its journal, is the want of appreciation of the gravity of the issues in dispute, and the impossibility of compromise when first principles are in opposition. For, however much certain economists may disclaim it, their science is part of ethics, their conclusions are dependent on their ethical premises. It is better to be open about this, and not make any pretence of an "independent" or "impartial" study which is impossible.

The moral of this rule is that, while we should give our respect and attention to the new "Economic Journal," we should reserve a warmer welcome to another new magazine on economic science, also started this year, under the title of the "Economic Review," and published for the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union. It is written openly and avowedly for Christians. No doubt the Christianity seems to us seems somewhat weak-kneed and confused. But considering the state of economic science and social activity among Catholics, it is certainly not for us to throw stones; and considering the antecedents and surroundings of those who have set this "Economic Review" on its course, their courage and clear-sightedness deserve our warmest sympathy.

They represent, as the editorial programme sets forth, those who "are seeking for principles to guide them through the tangled mazes of social and industrial life." Let us set before them, as the happy revival of Catholic philosophy ought to enable us to do, that in Christian ethics are the very principles they seek, and that the history of the Christian Church has shown again and again the particular application of these principles, notably in regard to fair dealing, to almsgiving, and to the stringent relations of family life.

Let us put in their hands the Encyclical on the Condition of Labour (though for that matter I strongly suspect the Encyclical has more serious students, and no less respectful, among them than among ourselves). Let us explain to them that they are too modest in thinking they occupy only a part of the economic field, when in truth they cover the whole, and there is no part of economics that can be divorced from ethics; and that thus they belong to one school indeed of economic science, but the true school, namely, the ethical, which, in substance, is right, though its followers may fall into many accidental errors; whereas, the socialist, the classical, and the historical schools are in substance wrong.

Of particular articles in the "Economic Review," that in the January number, by the Rev. M. Kaufmann, on the Progress of Socialism in the United States, and that in the April number by the Hon and Rev. Arthur Lyttelton, on the question of Population, may be singled out as of particular merit; while much information is given in the Notes and Memoranda, for example, on labour-colonies and profit-sharing.

Reverting to the "Political Science Quarterly" of New York, the March number contains as clear an account of compulsory insurance in Germany as the bewildering complexity of the subject allows; and the mischief and inefficacy of the recent Aged and Invalid Pension Law is made evident. There is also a review of Professor Marshall's "Principles of Economics," interesting, not as a real critical estimate of the book, which I have as yet met with nowhere, but as a sad sign how the weaker part of that book, with its nebulous terms, needless hypotheses, and fruitless discussions, is too likely, so great is the charm of subtle speculation for many minds, to find many imitators.

C. S. DEVAS.

Canon Holland on the Encyclical on Labour.—The year 1891 has been a marked year in the history of economic science: the Encyclical on the condition of the working classes has directed the attention of all Catholics to the subject, and has made the task of Catholic economists much simpler, by giving the general principles of common agreement and common action; while the rush to economics in England has shown itself not merely in a multitude of books and pamphlets, but in the foundation of two new quarterlies entirely devoted to economic questions. Out of these, "The Economic Journal" is supposed to represent all opinions of any scientific value, and is the official organ of the British Economic Association; the other, with which alone we are now concerned, is "The Economic Review," and is avowedly Christian. It is published

for the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union, and, according to its programme, "is written for those who are trying to see more clearly, apart from political or class prejudices, their duties as citizens and as Christians." Indeed, of the articles that have appeared in the first four numbers of this quarterly, nearly half have been written by clergymen.

This being the character of the "Economic Review," we turned with natural interest to an article in the October number by the Rev. Canon H. S. Holland on the "Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on the Condition of Labour." For surely all Christians who are trying to see more clearly their duties on social matters, will find much to help them in the clear and comprehensive teaching of the Encyclical. But Canon Holland has disappointed us. He is indeed very courteous in his comments; he praises the noble life of Leo XIII., and the "many kind and wise things he says." But then he gives us plainly to understand that the Pope's teaching, though very well-meaning, is of very little use; "that we have not gained any clear step; that we are not further forward on our way; that our real problems have only been skirted, not assailed; that after all that the old man, in his goodness, has said we must go back and work out the weary heart of the problem for ourselves."

Now this extraordinary view of a document that in reality goes to very root of the evils that are troubling us, is no doubt partly due to a hasty reading of it, and unfamiliarity with the significance of the terms used. So Canon Holland misrepresents, quite unconsciously but very completely, the Pope's teaching, when he says that there is no attempt "to determine the limitation of ownership, and the nature of its relations to the common weal;" and that "the inviolability of private property . . . is, according the Pope, the primary office of the State;" and when he complains "how far aloof the Papal letter stands from the actual dust and heat of the turmoil in which the social world is engaged." For much of the Encyclical is occupied with determining very explicitly the limitations of ownership and the checks on its abuse; the duty of the Government to protect all rights, not merely rights of ownership, is explicitly declared; nay the "inviolability of private property" in the ordinary sense of the phrase, namely to allow every man to do what he likes with his own, is in flat contradiction with the Pope's teaching; which moreover, far from being aloof from the turmoil, or having (to quote Canon Holland once more) "a far away, old-fashioned dreamy tone," is in the very thick of the turmoil, amid factory laws, sphere of women's work, insurance of workpeople,

minimum wages, variations of the working day according to trade, and the binding together once more of employers and workpeople, instead of civil war between hostile and separate federations.

But unhappily Canon Holland's dissatisfaction is not simply due to a misunderstanding. The Traditional Christian Teaching on the Family, The State and the Church, on domestic, civil, and religious society, set forth anew so clearly in previous Encyclicals of Leo XIII. (*Arcanum divinæ*, on Christian marriage, and *Immortale Dei*, on the Christian constitution of States): all this is quite out of date with him, is "patriarchal," "futile," "childish." Much rather we are to understand that "the State must work from within the people whom it governs, not from without." It is itself their organ of discovery, the expression and embodiment of their growing experience. It is the instrument by which they feel their way forward, by which they continually adapt and re-adapt themselves to the changing environment. They and it are one living thing; they constitute a single being. The "Government" is the organized ministry through which each national State works out its progressive destiny. This all-pervading all-embracing State. This Hegelian monster, is Canon Holland's ideal, having as an inevitable consequence the trampling down of the rights of the family and the Church, and the profanation of our hearths and our altars. No doubt we can throw a little Christian colour into this political doctrine by putting in "under God" here and there, or "by the moving pressure of the Divine Will;" but this does not alter the practical effects of the teaching, which are the same as though we said straight out with Hegel that the State is the Divine Will; the divinity, we may add, appearing in the lineaments of a Gambetta in one place, of a Crispi in another, and of a Balmaceda in a third. No wonder, with this view of the State, Canon Holland finds the Pope's view "somewhat thin." No wonder also that he thinks the arguments in defence of private property in the Encyclical are inconclusive, because they rest in great part on the truth that the family has an independent sphere of its own, and that private ownership of the means of production is necessary for proper family life; whereas Canon Holland will not hear of the independence of the family.

Then again in the Canon's mind social relations are all in a state of flux and obscurity. "Society is embarked in a new voyage of discovery; it has got to win the revelation of a new order out of the pressure and guidance of living experience." And he speaks of "the strange rough-and-tumble in which man actually is set to manufacture his own social story, illumined by sudden flashes,

menaced by obscurities." And he complains of the clear and precise vision of the world that appears in the Pope's letter as an anachronism quite unsuited to "the boisterous inrush of the new age." Like many other people Canon Holland has been confused by the elaboration of our civilization, by the great technical changes in industry, and by the changes in many political and economic conditions; and has lost sight of what is permanent and unalterable, and fails to see how little the essentials of social life are changed. A lady travels now, it is true, to the South of France in a *coupé-lit* not in a *diligence*: but her duties to her husband and her children remain the same. In many countries great numbers of the poorer class have or are supposed to have votes: but as before they must eat their bread in the sweat of their brow. Many of us use daily the telegraph and the telephone: but the invention is yet wanting that shall free us from being prone to evil from our youth. No doubt the changes in society require changes in many of our institutions: the Pope makes a point of telling us so; but not changes in the principles of Christian ethics, of which economics and politics are but branches. It may perhaps sound better to be "striving for the revelation of a new order," to "assimilate . . . the new wants and hopes of human nature," and for each State to work out "its progressive destiny." And it is certainly a cold-water douche on these high aspirations to be told bluntly that suffering and hardship must ever be man's lot; that nothing better or nobler than what Christianity has already shown us in social life will ever be found; and that without a return to Christian principles no happy solution of the social question is possible. Only cold water is often useful to bring people back to their senses; and where grave matters are at stake, sober sense is better than sounding rhetoric. Canon Holland will find his rhetoric but a poor weapon for the post he would occupy as one of the "reformers who seek to oppose out-and-out Socialism." For in providing fine phrases and brilliant Utopias the extreme party will soon drive these reformers out of the market. What is sad is that one who professes Christianity should have gathered so little profit from the luminous teaching of the Encyclical, and should show so little appreciation of the very elements of Christianity and even of the natural law: sad we say, but not surprising; for we know of old the thick mist that covers those who dwell in the city of confusion.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Trans-Australian Journey of Lord Kintore.—Lord Kintore has signalised his Governorship of South Australia by a journey across the continent from North to South, a feat which few have accomplished. The Northern Territory, which no Governor has ever visited before, was annexed to South Australia by a temporary grant of the land between the 138th and 129th meridians of East longitude, and between the 26th parallel and the sea, together with the adjacent islands. Although said to be a region of great promise, its history has hitherto been a record of failure, and its area of 523,620 square miles was occupied in 1881 by a population of but 4,554, of whom only 101 were females. The Europeans numbered then 670, the Chinese 3,853, and the Malays 31, but these figures have increased considerably since. The population, nevertheless, of Palmerston, or Port Darwin, the principal settlement, is seriously diminishing. The gap of 1,200 miles in the transcontinental railway, which terminates at Oodnadatta, 700 miles from Adelaide on one side, and at Pine Creek, 150 miles from Port Darwin, on the other, leaves the undeveloped northern district cut off from all communication with the South, save by the circuitous and dangerous maritime route. Lord Kintore's journey was thus an exploratory one, and its objects were stated, as follows, in a speech delivered in Adelaide a few days before he started.

Our inheritance in this Southern land is not confined to Adelaide and a few miles round. Far away towards the Equator do our possessions extend. North of the 26th parallel of latitude we own a vast territory stretching to the Arafura Sea. Its wealth in many places is said to be enormous and only waiting to be opened up. You want to know, I want to know, and Her Majesty's Government at home want to know, what hinders its development. All who are acquainted with it admit that its progress is slow, but I can obtain no general consensus of opinion as to what steps are needful to improve its condition. A full report on these matters is required of me. How can I write it? Only, as I believe, by going there and enquiring into matters on the spot. And that is what I am going to do.

Starting, accordingly, from Adelaide on the 26th of February, he travelled overland *via* Melbourne and Sydney to Brisbane, and thence by boat to Port Darwin, which he reached on March 31st. He had

a cordial reception from the European residents, and a more demonstrative one from the Chinese, who met him in their gala dresses of flowing silk, with bands, banners, and cracker-bearers, who discharged petards in handfuls and boxfuls all along his route. Being prohibited, by the jealousy of the white colonists, from taking part in the dinner given to the Governor by the latter in the Town hall, they invited him to a banquet on their own account, where speeches were made both in English and Chinese, and he was also entertained by the natives at a *corroboree*, in which two tribes, representing opposite parties, took part, in their war paint and feathers. After an expedition on the Adelaide river, in which he succeeded in shooting an alligator, he started for the interior on April 9th, from Pine Creek, the terminus of the railway.

Across the Continent by Four-in-Hand.—The party consisted, in addition to Lord Kintore himself, of Dr. Stirling, attached to it as a man of science, Mr. Alfred Pybus, a twenty years' resident in the Northern Territory, who acted as its leader, three drivers, a cook, a trooper, and four black boys. They drove in four-in-hand traps, with pack-horses to carry the luggage, and accomplished from 30 to 50 miles a day, experiencing on the whole journey no greater mishap than the breaking of an axle.

Their mode of travel was described as follows, by the "South Australian Register"—

At daylight the black boys would start out to collect the horses that had been hobbled the night before. The fire would be started by the cook, and the other members of the party would be engaged in rolling up their blankets and tying up their swags and generally preparing for another day's stage. By the time quart-pots were boiling and the tea made, the black boys would be heard returning with the horses, so no time was to be lost in completing the morning meal and preparing to leave camp. The pack-horses being loaded, and the riding-horses saddled, the trap horses would be harnessed up. The trap containing his Excellency and Dr. Stirling would lead the way, followed by the second trap, containing the cook with his utensils and provisions. Then came the pack-horses driven by the black boys. Sometimes the horses were easily secured and at times they were not. About 1 p.m., a halt would be made for an hour or more for lunch, and the journey would be continued till sundown. The tents, being too bulky, were left behind at Pine Creek, and consequently all hands slept in the open air. The two traps would be drawn side by side, and between them two hammocks for his Excellency and Dr. Stirling would be slung. After tea and a few minutes' smoke round the camp fire, all hands would turn in to get what sleep was possible with the myriads of mosquitoes that generally appeared as soon as darkness came on, and at daylight next morning much the same routine would be gone through.

Oodnadatta was reached on the 20th of May, the gap of 1,200

miles between the two ends of the railway having been traversed in 37 days. The entire journey of 2,125 miles, between Adelaide and Port Darwin, was accomplished in 40 days of actual travelling.

Lord Kintore's Report.—The Governor, on his return, presented a report to his Ministers on the results of his journey, and the capabilities of the territory explored. The richest lands were those on the borders of the rivers in the north, and on those of the Adelaide River, there were, he said, thousands of acres admirably suited to the cultivation of tropical produce. The "Hinterland," on the other hand, while almost valueless for agricultural purposes, is rich in minerals, including gold, silver, copper, and tin, all known to exist in large quantities over a wide area. The labour difficulty is the hindrance to the development of these mines, as white men are incapable of doing efficient work in the tropical climate of Northern Australia, while the coolies have not as yet been found to work satisfactorily underground.

In this connection (continues the report) I may be allowed to add that it is only those who have lived in the territory who can realise what an important factor in its present social organisation the Chinese are. Remove them to-morrow, and the residents of Palmerston would be left without fish, vegetables, or fruit, to a large extent without meat, without laundries for their washing; neither would there be any tailors, cooks, or domestic servants.

On one point, the report declares the inhabitants of the territory to be absolutely unanimous, the necessity for the completion without delay of the transcontinental railway. As, however, the finances of the colony are unequal to the burden of such an undertaking, the construction of the line on the land grant system, despite its many recognised drawbacks, seems the only alternative. The urgency of some remedial measure is shown by the decay of Port Darwin, the principal settlement of the territory, strikingly demonstrated in the empty and ruinous tenements visible in its streets, and in the extension of the exodus from it even to the Chinese. Something must be done if the depletion is to be arrested, which, if carried much further, would result in its total abandonment.—*Times*, September 5th.

Railways in Siam.—In addition to the railway from Bangkok to Korat, a distance of 165 miles, about to be constructed under State guarantee, a concession was granted in March, 1891, for a line across the Malay Peninsula, from the port of Singora, in latitude 75° north to Kota Star or Seiburee, the capital of Kedah, a distance of 76 miles,

and thence to Kulim, the centre of a rich tin-bearing district 60 miles further. Singora lies at the entrance of a large inland sea some 400 miles south of Bangkok, and has been from an early date a centre of distribution from which tin and native produce have been carried in junks both to the capital, the Straits Settlements, and China. The harbour, in its present state, offers safe and deep anchorage during the south-west monsoon, but is very difficult of approach during the north-east monsoon, owing to the formation of a shifting bar, the removal of which is, consequently, a necessary adjunct to the scheme. The advantages to be derived from the latter are:—(1) The acceleration by two or three days of the mail service from Europe to Bangkok, Saigon, and China; (2) the development of the tin and other mineral resources of the districts opened up; and (3) the formation of a line in the Trunk railway connecting Singapore and the Malay protected States with Moulmein and the Indian system.

The Yangtse and its Gorges.—A correspondent of the "Times," writing in its issue of September 19th, describes the facility and comfort with which the great internal highway of China may be traversed for a thousand miles in steamers representing the beau ideal of luxury, combining speed and comfort with attendance and culinary arrangements that leave nothing to be desired. The boat leaving Shanghai at night takes about 30 hours to reach Chinkiang, the first large port signalised in 1888 by serious riots caused by the batoning of a Chinese by one of the Indian police. Nankin, the ancient capital of China, the centre of the Taiping rebellion, is the next point of interest, after which the traveller reaches Wuhu, the scene of some of the recent disturbances.

All along (says the writer) the river presents some scene of interest that will attract the eye. Now, perhaps, it is a gorgeous junk floating down stream, a mass of scarlet, of gold, and of dragons; now a ruined pagoda on the banks; now the flat marshes with the buffaloes standing up to their middles in the water; and again some wretched native village, a collection of ramshackle huts, or a group of fishermen with their circular nets. Pant-ski, a small island, stands in the middle of the river. Its summit is crowned with a pagoda, while near by is a "joss house" or temple. Then comes the city of Ngan-king on the north bank of the river, stretching far along its banks and boasting the finest pagoda on the Lower Yangtse. One of the prettiest sights on the lower river is passed a few hours after leaving Ngan-king, namely the solitary rock with its poetic name, "The Little Orphan." It stands fairly in mid stream, and is crowned by a two-storeyed pagoda, while clinging to its steep sides is a Buddhist monastery. At this point the scenery on the banks becomes less

low and monotonous. Here are vast reedy marshes in which deer can be seen feeding, there a high range of broken hills, and again at another point a curious pile of pagodas and upturned roofs, by name Hu-kow, the Buddhist monastery at the entrance of the lake Poyang. There remains but one more "treaty port" to pass before Hankow is reached, though numberless picturesque towns are passed at which, however, Europeans are not allowed to trade, and that is Kiu-kiang, of no great size or interest.

Hankow is a great tea emporium, with huge European houses and warehouses, and a curious but dirty native town. On the opposite side of the river, which is here a mile in width, stands Woo-chang, with its collection of "joss houses" and temples known as Hang-ho-hoo, its narrow streets overhung with gaudy gilded signboards, and its fanatical population. Here the Han, a very large tributary, joins the main stream, and the scene at the confluence is one of great animation both on land and water. From Hankow to Ichang, a distance of 350 miles, there are no very striking features until on approaching the latter place the scenery becomes more picturesque, the hills and mountains assuming pyramidal forms, so symmetrical that they seem as if shaped by the hand of man, while a curious freak of nature is seen in the rocky arch which frames and sets off the landscape visible beyond. After leaving Ichang the journey must be continued in a junk or houseboat, the latter if procurable, affording greater space and comfort to the traveller. Up to this point the river has retained its imposing breadth, but five miles above it narrows to form the Ichang gorge, the first of a series of chasms through which the stream has cloven its way.

Vain were it for any pen (says the writer) to describe the scenery which, as gorge after gorge unfolds itself, meets the eye. Vain to think by means of words alone to convey to the reader the vast dimensions of the huge cliffs that rise perpendicularly on either hand, straight from the water's edge, not allowing in most places even a narrow pathway. As one sails up in the evening twilight gloom, one can only wonder and gaze. The "Needle of Heaven," a rock rising from the water's edge, a pillar as it were, almost uniform in breadth at its base and at its summit, crowned with a cluster of firs, is above 1,800 feet in height, and yet it looks quite insignificant amongst the high peaks which surround it. Steeper and steeper grow the rocks and precipices, till, almost with a sigh of relief, one emerges into more open ground, where small villages, with bright fantastic joss-houses, half-hidden in groves of emerald bamboos and trees, present themselves. And so it is mile after mile, here gorges, the river winding between mountains that seem to block its path, so narrow are some of the outlets; here the roaring rapids, up which a hundred men or more would tow our boat; and here again a long reach between cultivated lands golden with the autumn crops. Boats would come floating down, great rafts, which in comparison with the scenery looked like canoes, until they would come near enough for us to see that they were bearing a living cargo, at times of hundreds of people. These rafts are put together on the upper reaches of the stream, and are broken up on reaching their destination, as the current is too strong to allow of their being transported up stream.

Exploration of the Victoria Nyanza.—The large bay on the south-western angle of Lake Victoria, first seen by Mr. Stanley on his last journey, as it was overlooked by previous explorers, has been recently examined by the German priest, Father Schynse, with a view to discovering suitable sites for missionary stations. From Bukumbi, on the south shore of the lake, he circumnavigated the new bay, which had so long escaped attention owing to the fringe of islands that screens its front. It extends to $2^{\circ}51'$ south latitude, but is very shallow, and seems to be in process of gradual dessication. Following the shore of the lake towards the north, Father Schynse proceeded to within a few marches of the capital of Uganda, and gives some interesting details of the countries traversed. Round the south-west of the lake dwell the Basinji, a hybrid people originally forming the single kingdom of Usinja, but now disintegrated into a number of independent tribes. They occupy a country which though generally flat, has a range of mountains which ensure a sufficient supply of rain. From their border to that of Uganda, the country is occupied by the Baziba, among whom the traveller was well received after having had some difficulties with their neighbours. Their land consists of ranges of heights on which the population dwell, leaving the marshy valleys running parallel to the lake uninhabited. Great part of their country is treeless, the heights being covered with grass furnishing good pasture, but there is also a district still overgrown by the primeval forest. At Bukoba, where Emin Pasha had a station, the country was well watered by numerous flowing streams, and seemed very fertile. It is thickly peopled, the banana furnishing the staple food of the inhabitants, though they have fine cattle, whose superb horns distinguished them from all the other native breeds, and resemble those of some of the European varieties. The people, too, differ from all their neighbours, and were considered by Father Schynse to be ethnologically isolated. ("Times," October 17th.)

Resources of Assam.—Although principally associated with the production of tea, there is reason to believe that, with the opening up of its communications, Assam will be rich in other products as well. Coal is already being worked in increasing quantities, the Assam Railways and Trading Company having opened a pioneer line to the mines at the foot of the Naga Hills, beyond Dibrugarh. The output of coal, which in 1884 amounted to 17,000 tons, had grown in 1888 to over 101,000, and in 1890 to 145,000 tons, while for 1891 a still further increase to 175,000 was expected. The coal is of excellent quality, and is

used by the P. and O., British India, Anchor, and City Lines, as well as by both the Inland Navigation Companies on the Brahmaputra. It is worked by galleries driven into two steep hills, and is shot down the incline to the railway in four trolleys which, in their descent by means of a wire rope passed over a drum, draw up an equal number of empties. Two thousand coolies are employed in the mines, and the seam, which has an average thickness of 50 feet, contains coal enough to maintain the present rate of production for at least a hundred years. The entire coal formation extends along the Naga Hills for a hundred miles, and is estimated to contain an aggregate of some 50 million tons. The present railway, which has a branch to Sadiya through a district of tea gardens, will be connected with the projected railway from Chittagong, and eventually extended to Northern Burmah, when there will be a large increase in the market open to the Assam coal. Petroleum exists in combination with the latter, and is already being extracted by the same company. Iron and limestone are also found, the latter in large quantities; and gold is said by natives to exist in the back country. The soil is of extraordinary fertility, capable of producing, in addition to rice its staple crop, pine-apples, cotton, maize, sugar, and tobacco. The acreage under tea in 1890 shows an increase of 3,789 over the previous year, the total being 231,038. The aggregate production, reported at 82,119,252 lbs., is also an increase of 5,203,424 lbs. over that of 1889.—"Board of Trade Journal," October, 1891.

Capabilities of Bolivia.—Bolivia is stated to be financially on a better footing than most of the South American Republics, as its internal debt is under four and a half million dollars, and its foreign debt is not only insignificant in amount, but is rapidly being paid off. Communication with the coast, the only thing wanting to develop its resources, will soon be supplied, for one of the Argentine railways has been pushed to its frontier, and another from the Chilean port of Antofagasta has been extended to near Oruro in the centre of the Bolivian plateau, a distance of 400 miles. An outlet through Peruvian territory will also be secured by the extension of a line from Arequipa, Mollendo, and Puño to La Paz. A project for opening up water communication with the Atlantic by the tributaries of the Amazon and La Plata is also regarded with favour. Bolivia is rich in mineral deposits, and contains, in addition to the silver mines of Potosi, the most productive in the world, others scarcely less promising, at Oruro, Aullaga, and Lipez. As much as 21 million dollars' worth of

Bolivian silver has been exported from Buenos Ayres in a single year. Among other minerals found in the country are tin, lead, bismuth, platinum, mercury, iron, zinc, coal, magnetic ore, talc, and rock crystal, as well as many varieties of precious stones, and of marbles and slates, besides basalt, chalk, saltpetre, borax, common salt, and magnesia. The Bolivian guano and nitrate deposits were appropriated by Chile, as the prize of the war in which she defeated the two neighbouring Republics. Bolivia, from her wide range of surface inequalities, combines the products of the temperate and tropical zones. Wheat is grown in sufficient quantities to provide a surplus for exportation to Peru and Chile. Coffee, said to be superior to Mocha, is cultivated with success. Sugar-cane grows freely, and cocoa on so large a scale as to have been valued in 1885 at 1,718,320 dollars. The supply of india-rubber is almost unlimited, and already forms one of the principal articles of export.—“Board of Trade Journal,” October, 1891.

Scotch Mission at Blantyre.—A correspondent of the “Times,” writing in its issue of October 20th, describes an interview with Mr. Joseph Thomson, immediately on his return from Africa. Illness having compelled the traveller to spend several weeks at Blantyre, the head quarters of the planters and missionaries of the Scotch Established Church in the Shire Highlands, he was much struck with the progress of the settlement. Coffee, which commands the highest price in Mincing-lane, is grown over extensive areas, and sugar, tea, tobacco, and other crops, are being tried with every prospect of success. The natives, who a few years ago devastated the whole region, now come 200 or 300 miles to work in the plantations. In addition to day schools, boarding schools are kept by the missionaries, in which 200 to 300 boys and youths, principally the sons of chiefs, are educated. Handicrafts and various practical avocations are taught, and football and other English games played by the masters and pupils during recreation. Many are so attached to the place that they prefer to spend their vacation there instead of going home. Some when they leave, build houses for themselves, marry one wife, and show by their lives that their training has not been altogether in vain. The white settlers live with all the comforts of civilisation, in well-built houses with large rooms, good table appointments, and libraries supplied with standard books. A church has been built by native labourers under white supervision, of materials, all except the glass and some of the internal fittings produced on the spot, the natives having baked the bricks, made the lime, hewed the timber, and reared the edifice

from foundations to roof. The methods of the Catholic missionaries in Africa and elsewhere seem here to have been imitated with success. The climate admits of the residence of European settlers with reasonable precautions, and Mr. Thomson believes that over the entire of the adjacent plateau Englishmen can live as well as they do in India, though he does not believe it suited for agricultural colonisation. It can be reached in six weeks from England by the Cape of Good Hope.

Rain Making in Texas.—The "Times," of October 8th, gives an account of the artificial production of rain in Texas, of which only fragmentary telegraphic reports had previously reached this country. The United States Government having appointed General Dyrenforth commissioner for the purpose, he accepted an invitation to begin operations on a ranch 23 miles north-west of Midland, in a very dry and arid region, where the pasturage was scanty. A shed having been built in which to prepare the large quantity of gases required, a number of balloons were filled with a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen in the proportion of two to one, and exploded, some by time fuses at a height of one and a half to five miles, the rest by wire, at a height of 1,000ft. above the earth. The balloon ascents were, however, rendered rather uncertain by the prevalence of high winds, and the explosion of "rackarock" powder and dynamite on the surface of the ground was more successful. Charges of powder of from 8lbs. to 24lbs. each, and of from 6lbs. to 12lbs. of dynamite, were exploded at intervals sometimes of less than a minute, and explosions were also let off in the tails of kites. The effect of these explosions is said to have been in every case satisfactory, as in each a series of explosions was followed within ten hours by rain, sufficiently establishing the connection of cause and effect between the occurrences. On the night of September 19th, says the writer, the final experiments were made under a starry and cloudless sky, with a strong gale blowing from the east. Five balloons were sent up and exploded, and 200lbs. of "rackarock" powder and 150lbs. of dynamite let off on the ground. There was no immediate result, and a rising barometer pointing to "fair" seemed to give little promise of any. By three in the morning, however, a bank of cloud appeared in the west in the direction in which the smoke had blown, and by four the rain began, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and lasting till eight. Many heavy charges were then fired, and showers fell after each. General Dyrenforth then left for Washington, but was to resume operations later on a large scale at El Paso, Texas, and then in South-Western Kansas. Meanwhile a telegram from Topeka an-

nounces that a contract has been signed with a local organisation by Melbourne, the rainmaker, in which he undertakes to water the north-western part of Kansas during June, July, and August, 1892, at the rate of one dollar per acre. He proposes also, to hold a series of mass meetings throughout the North-Western States, with a view to arousing interest in his method. It is obvious, if the latter be capable of general application, how vastly it would enlarge the productive area of the globe, and of what incalculable benefit it would be to countries like India and Australia, where all rural industry is carried on under the threat of periodical droughts.

The Nijni Novogrod Fair.—A report to the Foreign Office from Mr. J. Michell, Her Majesty's Consul at St. Petersburg, declares the results of the Nijni Novogrod Fair last year to have been far from satisfactory. The failure of the harvest in twenty of the most fertile provinces in the Empire, and the diminution, very marked this year, of the water in the Volga and its tributaries are the chief causes to which this falling off is ascribed. The arrival of deeply-laden barges bringing iron and other commodities was delayed, and the supply of raw produce at the fair thus much diminished, while the manufactured articles brought found few buyers, owing to the diminished purchasing power of the country. The value of manufactured goods sold was consequently 30 per cent. less than in 1890. As a set-off against this decrease a brisk business was done in grain and other raw native products for exportation, as the low rate of exchange for the rouble favoured the outward trade. But even apart from the exceptional circumstances of this year, it is evident from previous returns, and from the increasing number of vacant warehouses within the fair compound, that the annual gathering is losing its former importance. The progressive, though slow development of the Russian railway system during the past five and twenty years has created new centres of commerce and diverted the trade of the country into other channels, and the completion of the projected Siberian railway will give the *coup de grace* to Nijni Novogrod as a great market. The Russian merchants and manufacturers assembled at the fair, combined in urging the Finance Minister to encourage the manufacture of native cotton goods by allowing them a drawback on export equivalent to the import duty on raw cotton. This measure they declare is needed in order to enable them to face the diminished consumption of their goods at home in the present impoverished state of the country, by the acquisition of new markets abroad, especially in Central Asia, where the desired drawback would enable them to compete successfully with English manufacturers.

[No. 1 of *Fourth Series*.]

H

An Underground City.—The correspondent of an Indian newspaper tells of a singular discovery made by the Russians in Central Asia. In Turkestan, on the right bank of the Amu Darya, in a chain of rocky hills near the Bokharan town of Karki, are a number of large caves, which upon examination were found to lead to an underground city, built apparently, long before the Christian era. According to effigies, inscriptions, and designs, wrought upon the gold and silver money unearthed among the ruins, the existence of the town dates back to some two centuries before the birth of Christ. The underground Bokharan city is about two versts long, and is composed of an enormous labyrinth of corridors, streets, and squares, surrounded by houses and other buildings two or three storeys high. The edifices contain all kinds of domestic utensils, pots, urns, vases, and so forth. In some of the streets, falls of earth and rock have obstructed the passages, but generally the visitor can walk about freely without so much as lowering his head. The high degree of civilisation attained by the inhabitants of the city is shown by the fact that they built in several storeys, by the symmetry of the streets and squares, and by the beauty of the baked clay and metal utensils, and of the ornaments and coins which have been found. It is supposed that long centuries ago this city, so carefully concealed in the bowels of the earth, provided an entire population with a refuge from the incursions of invaders and robbers. ("The Tablet," October 24th.)

Remarkable Caves in Tasmania.—Mr. Morton described to a meeting of the Royal Society of Tasmania last June some remarkable caves recently discovered near Southport in that colony. The entrance is through a limestone formation, and a strong stream flows through the floor of the chambers. The lights carried by the party being extinguished, the ceiling and sides of the cavern seemed studded with diamonds, an effect due to millions of glow-worms which hung suspended there, the only living creatures seen in the distance of three-quarters of a mile traversed. The caves are supposed to extend three or four miles, but have not been explored throughout.—("Nature," October 15th).

Notes on Hobels.

A Sydney-side Saxon. By ROLF BOLDEWOOD. London: Macmillan, 1891.

THOSE who look for vivid descriptions of life at the Antipodes from the author of "Robbery under Arms" will not be disappointed in his present volume. The romantic element is almost absent from its pages, on which are recounted, in autobiographical form, the fortunes of a Kentish rustic as an immigrant in New South Wales. The happy contrast offered by his fate to that of the English agricultural labourer is emphasised by the story of his father, compelled after a life of toil to end his days in the workhouse. It may, in fact, be regarded as a tract in favour of emigration, in such glowing colours does it paint the possibilities opened up to thrift and good conduct in the southern hemisphere, as compared with the hopeless future that awaits the poor in a land already overcrowded with inhabitants. It is useful, moreover, in showing how these golden prospects are dependent, in Australia as everywhere else, on habits of self-discipline, and how they are frequently marred by the fatal vice which the Anglo-Saxon has carried with him to darken the future of the otherwise happy continent. Drinking is there a scourge, whose victims far out-number even those sacrificed to it in the mother country, death from alcoholism in some of the colonies exceeding those in England in the proportion of three to one. The hero being exempt from this failing, soon gets his foot on the first rung of the ladder of success, and thence rapidly climbs upwards. In receipt of large wages from the beginning as a shepherd and stock rider, he invests his savings in land, and so becomes, at first on a small scale, a proprietor on his own account. Thus, in a country "where land is cheap and men are dear," he prospers and flourishes, adding to his possessions until they cover an area that would be a respectable fraction of an English county. The young ladies whose acquaintance he makes are principally remarkable for their proficiency in horsemanship, despite of which one falls a victim to her ambition in riding a steeplechase.

In the "Stranger People's" Country. By CHARLES EGBERT CRADDOCK, London: Osgood & Co., 1891.

ONCE more the writer who conceals her identity under the above pseudonym, transports us into those highlands of Tennessee, which her magic pen has made for us such fairy-land of enchantment. Vivid as ever are the touches with which she calls up pictures of scenery, and episodes of rural life, though perhaps some of the intangible aroma of early spontaneity has evaporated from her highly finished style. Yet in her own peculiar *genre* she has done nothing to surpass her inimitable description of the "infair" or wedding dance in the Pettingills' cabin, with the tragic climax so artistically enhanced by the rude festivity of its surroundings. The humours of the mountain merry-making, the under current of slumbering savagery beneath its superficial gaiety, the plastic complaisance of the candidate seeking the suffrages of his rough associates, are all vivified to our imagination by that knowledge of the deeper springs of human nature which alone gives meaning to the presentment of its lighter moods. The drama of which these local accessories are the setting, is swift yet thrilling in its action. Crime and violence, inseparable from so rude a state of society, involve the innocent with the guilty in their results, and the temporary complications thus introduced into the lives of the actors form the subject of the plot. None of the author's rustic heroines is limned with more subtle intensity than Letitia, whose dainty beauty is as little appreciated by the coarser taste of the "mounting" as is the keen wit whose shafts are winged with scorn. Incisive phrases are as thickly scattered over these, as over any previous pages by the author, and "that universal bridal manner, intimating a persuasion that no one else has ever been married," and "that expression of proprietorship (in looking at his patient) which everywhere marks the physician," are pen-flashes which engrave themselves on the memory.

The Mischief of Monica. By L. B. WALFORD. London: Longman and Co., 1891.

THE foibles of the ultra-fashionable world are satirised with considerable skill in the tale of the social vicissitudes encountered by Monica and Isabel Lavenham, well-born, but undowered damsels, dependent on others for their position. Thrown upon the world at an early age, they have imbibed its maxims from the uncle

who gives them a half-grudging shelter until the novelty of introducing two brilliant and lovely girls into society has lost a little of its first charm. The establishment in Lowndes Square, whence they had been launched upon the world of Belgravia and Mayfair, being then summarily shut up, they are turned over to an uncle on their mother's side of the house, occupying the comparatively inferior position of a rich Liverpool merchant. Their dismay at their suburban surroundings, and contempt for the luxurious home provided for them, soon begin to be tempered by a sense of the superior kindness of their new guardian, and thus they gradually come to perceive something of the heartlessness of their old life. To Monica the lesson is, however, only finally brought home by the recognition of her own unworthy conduct in luring away her cousin's suitor, for the gratification of her idle vanity and love of admiration. The dignity with which her despised rival receives the slight put upon her, opens her eyes to her own inferiority in the good feeling which is the essence of good breeding, and she repents, when it is too late to make amends for the wrong done. Her own heart has meantime become involved, while her happiness is rendered impossible by pecuniary impediments. A further change of fortune deposits the sisters in the shabby-genteel poverty of London lodgings, but this proves but to be but a temporary eclipse of fate, and they are left in the end in full happiness and prosperity. Their story thus points a useful moral lesson, while it is written with sufficient vivacity and sparkle to convey it in very entertaining form.

Narcissa Brendon. By EDWARD PEACOCK. London: John Hodges. 1891.

IT is refreshing to meet with a novel of the good old-fashioned type, with plenty of plotting and counter-plotting, beauty in distress, and a villain of the most thoroughgoing description. Innocence too presents itself under the most suspicious circumstances, and there are two ladies of great personal attractions, whom a wicked world will persist in believing all they ought not to be, because recipients of the devotion of two eligible noblemen, whom they are all the time virtuously refusing to marry. One of them, named, with an alarming combination of mythology and history, Astarte Sorel, is in addition both a crack horsewoman and a crack shot, two accomplishments, either of which is sufficient in itself to destroy a reputation. Notwithstanding all these suspicious circumstances, she

is in reality pious, charitable, a devout Catholic, and eventually an ornament to the peerage, when, in the concluding chapter, she consents to be a duchess. The story is, however, principally concerned with the fortunes of the second afflicted damsel, Miss de Nieva, persecuted by the pursuit of the villain, Colonel Thornton. She is, by his contention his wife, and indeed would have been so, had not his marriage to her been invalidated by his being already married to another. He is a most undesirable husband, as he is a semi-lunatic, liable to paroxysms of homicidal mania, who in his previous career has already killed a girl, and thrown the suspicion of the deed on an innocent priest, by confessing it to him, and so sealing his lips as to the truth. The most impressive scene in the book is his absolution on his deathbed by this very priest, who though suspended from his functions, had yet power to exercise them in case of extremity. The conduct of the nominal heroine, Narcissa Brendon, in breaking off her engagement with the man she loves, and marrying one she despises, remains rather enigmatical, though she is in other respects an interesting figure.

Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

Révue des Questions Historiques. Juillet, 1891.

The State of Education before the Revolution.—No one can maintain that popular education was in a flourishing condition under the old regime; but, thanks chiefly to an inquiry ordered by the Legislative Assembly in November, 1791, we are able to show that the number and efficiency of the schools were far greater than is generally supposed, and that the rash reforms of the constituent assembly did incalculable injury to the cause of education. Canon Allain, who is already well known for his valuable work, "*L'Instruction primaire en France avant la Révolution*," has made a careful study of the returns, and contributes to the "*Révue*" a résumé of his labours. It would not be possible to give here any further summary of what is already so condensed; anyone interested in the subject should read the article itself, where he will find abundant proof of the two facts just stated. One would naturally have judged that the suppression of tithes, feudal rights, and tolls, the sale of church property, the expulsion of the religious orders,

the civil constitution of the clergy, and the new oath would have brought about the financial ruin of the educational establishments, the dispersion of the teaching staffs, and the diminution of the number of scholars. And so we find in the returns numberless incidents of schools and colleges, of all grades, either closed altogether or unable to keep up their former footing, by reason of want of teachers or of funds to pay them.

It is consoling to find how general was the refusal to take the oath, and to note that, even where some of the staff had stooped to do so, the parents withdrew their children from the school. Canon Allain makes some sort of apology for the dryness of his article, and for its want of literary merit. But, surely, his mere facts and figures speak far more eloquently than any rhetorical embellishments, especially of the kind in which his countrymen so often indulge.

Was Roger Bacon Imprisoned?—The story of Friar Bacon, the mediæval Galileo, is at best a melancholy one. A literary and scientific genius, born out of due time, waging war against his age and opposed by it in return, he has ever been held up to honour as one of the foremost martyrs of science. Not content with the facts of the case, which in truth are sad enough, bigoted writers have pictured to us the gloomy dungeons in which he is said to have been immured, and the tortures to which they assert he was subjected. Our popular historian, Mr. Green, is an honourable exception to this class, and has done much to dispel the commonly accepted legends. "If we may credit a more recent story," he says, in his excellent sketch of Bacon's life, "his writings only gained him a prison from his order." The Abbé Feret has therefore done well to examine the evidence on which this story rests. It appears that two distinct imprisonments are alleged, one beginning in 1257, the other in 1278.

The Franciscan order to which Bacon belonged had forbidden the study of Natural Science, Magic, Astrology, and the like. We are not here concerned to defend this prohibition, but all will admit that a religious body, professing the strictest poverty and devoting itself to the work of missions among the poor, was within its right in not allowing its members to engage in scientific pursuits requiring much time and money. Friar Roger undoubtedly disobeyed this regulation time after time, and was consequently reprimanded by his superiors. No doubt they would have acted more wisely had they encouraged his studies. Unfortunately, they forbade him to publish anything, and sent him away from Oxford to a convent of their order in Paris. This detention in a foreign convent, a not

uncommon penance among religious, is the origin of the alleged first imprisonment. It should ever be remembered that his release, and the composition of his three famous works "*Opus Majus*," "*Opus Minus*," and "*Opus Tertium*," were due to the instigation of Clement IV. Mr. Green remarks that no acknowledgment reached him from the Pope. True; for the Pontiff died before there was time to do so. A bad time was now at hand for Bacon. He seems to have become embittered by his long period of repression. Aristotle, "the master of those who know," Alexander of Hales, the glory of his own order, Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas, the great lights of the rival order of the Dominicans, and even the Court of Rome, were all alike assailed by his bitterest ridicule. At length, in 1278, he was once more condemned by his superiors; this time for his teaching on Astrology and Magic. M. Peret admits that he was now confined in the prison of his convent, according to the custom of the day. But even here he was able to continue his studies, though he could not publish the result of his labours. Hence Bacon's persecution amounts to this: he was exiled and detained in a foreign convent, and afterwards underwent real incarceration, but only in the convent prison. As I have said, the truth is sad enough. M. Peret has done good service in removing the exaggeration from the story, and in reducing it to its proper, though regrettable limits.

Octobre. The Revolution of July, 1789.—M. Sepet gives us a second instalment of his history of the Revolution. The present portion deals with the events leading up to and including the capture of the Bastille, and the immediate consequences of that triumph of popular violence. The baneful influence of the Palais Royal coterie, presided over by the infamous Duc d'Orleans, naturally receives prominent notice. M. Sepet does not lay claim to originality; but he says with truth that he has tried to tell his story accurately and fairly, and, it may be added, with no small literary skill.

The Early History of the Israelites.—A recent Dutch critic of the Pentateuch, M. Kuenen, has gone so far as to assert that the whole story of the Exodus is not only impossible, but absurd. His work on the subject has been most ably answered in the "*Révue*" by the Abbé de Moor. Even if we were to grant that the Egyptian monuments are silent concerning the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt and their departure under Moses, it would by no means follow that the biblical account was a fable. Every Egyptologist recognises that these monuments never refer to

any events which were disastrous, just as one does not expect to find a Jena Brücke in Berlin or an Avenue Sédan in Paris. Besides, the dynasty which favoured Joseph and his countrymen was alien, and was hated by the Egyptians. When the native royal race regained sway, great care was taken to remove every trace of the foreign domination. But although this and other observations of a like character would be a sufficient answer to the critics belonging to the negative school, M. de Moor goes on to find positive proofs of the vicinity of the Mosaic record. He is inclined to believe that the Exodus took place during the reign of Seti II., not during that of Merneptah I.; for the former reigned only a short time, and died a violent death, or at any rate disappeared suddenly, and, besides, the circumstances of his reign fit in best with the story of the Exodus. The passage of the Red Sea naturally presents great difficulty to those who deny the miracle of the division of the waters. But if this be granted, the time occupied and the various other circumstances mentioned by Moses can be easily harmonized, though, of course, the precise site of the crossing cannot be determined with certainty. Another favourite objection of the sceptical school is the alleged impossibility of the non-intervention of the Hittites on behalf of their allies, the Canaanites. M. de Moor points out that at the time of the conquest, the Northern Hittites were themselves being overcome by a horde of invaders, and were forced into a war against Ramases III., by whom they and their recent conquerors were defeated.

The Organization of the Christian Churches in the Third Century.—A learned and at the same time interesting paper on this subject, read by F. de Smedt, S.J., at the Catholic Science Congress, held in Paris in April last, now appears in this number of the "*Révue*." His opinions are somewhat opposed to those commonly held, and have already aroused some opposition. Thus he maintains that there was no such thing as parochial organization in the large cities, and particularly in Rome and Alexandria, before the middle of the fifth century. During the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, simple priests often performed sacred functions and exercised jurisdiction previously reserved to bishops. But in this he sees only an abnormal and transitory state of things, and in no way the germ of the parochial system. Moreover, he is of opinion that in the first three centuries there is no trace of the exercise of primatial authority—that of the See of Rome, of course, excepted. The occupants of the chief Sees of the various provinces, no doubt, had considerable influence over the other bishops, but

this influence was only moral and was largely due to personal qualities. Nor is there, according to Father de Smedt, any proof that the bishops looked upon councils as anything more than useful expedients for deciding disputes. It is much to be regretted that he was not able to go on to examine the early history of the supremacy of Rome. He observed, however, that although the successors of St. Peter showed that they were conscious of their high prerogatives, the exercise of these was not always possible owing to local prejudices and other obstacles. Altogether the paper is well worthy of careful study.

T.B.S.

NOTES ON GERMAN PERIODICALS BY CANON BELLESHEIM, OF
AACHEN.

"Katholik."—The August issue opened with an article on "Louis de Thomassin of the Oratory and his works," contributed by Abbé Thomassin, residing in Munich. It is all the more worth reading, since the learned author does not confine himself to the printed works of Thomassin, but fortunately employs manuscripts to which he had access through the kindness of his family. The first article affords a vivid picture of Thomassin's development and draws the history of his first learned book, "*Dissertationes in concilia generalia et particularia*." We are glad to see that the author of the article, far from acting as a mere apologist, points out the drawbacks of the work, and mainly in those parts which fall short of what might have been looked for from a defender of the prerogatives of the Holy See. Next we meet with the work, "*De Gratia*." In sifting it M. Thomassin is careful in pointing out the system adopted by the learned oratorian, who wished to occupy his position between Molina and Bañez, thus disclaiming both the systems of the "*scientia media*" and "*the prædeterminatio physica*." In the second article we get glimpses into the making and the contents of the famous "*Vetus et nova ecclesiae disciplina circa beneficia*," which made its appearance in French in 1678, and owing to its exceptional value soon was translated into Latin. Indeed, there were to be found not a few sentences to which Innocent XI. took opposition. Thomassin's theology was not thoroughly devoid of Gallicanism. But for all that, the work was possessed of qualities such as to urge on the Pope the happy idea of calling the oratorian to Rome. But honourable as was this scheme for De Thomassin, and useful as it might have proved for the interests of historical science, Louis XIV. flatly refused him permission

to leave the country. The work which for ever has established the fame of De Thomassin are his "*Dogmata Theologica*." Indeed he is largely drawing on Petavius, but on the other hand has merits of his own, particularly in the treatise on the Incarnation. It is here "that he succeeded in laying bare recondite connections and revealing analogies which are enchanting to the scholar." The third article is devoted to De Thomassin's personal qualities, amongst which we may bring into relief his eminent piety and unbounded charity. This series of articles fully repays perusal. From the gifted pen of Dr. Rady we have articles on the history of the relics of St. Elizabeth of Thuringer. A large amount of historical documents is successfully handled. A most touching episode is the translation of the relics in the celebrated church in Marburg, one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic architecture all over Germany. F. Baeumer, formerly in Maredsous, now in the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron, is following up his profound articles on the history of the breviary. The period he is commenting on covers the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, down to the Council of Trent. The residence of the Popes in Avignon proved disastrous to the development of the liturgy. Our author points out the work of Ralph of Tongern (1401), "*De canonum observantia*," which severely, but deservedly, inveighs against not a few corruptions which gradually had crept into liturgical uses. Whilst the Sunday office (*Officium de Dominica*), as bringing out the special importance of the ecclesiastical year, and the features of the holy seasons had sunk into insignificance, the feasts under "duplex" in the course of time had been encumbered by many devotions, which went to render the choir office a heavy burden for those priests who were charged with parochial duties. Several attempts made to reform the breviary proved abortive, and fell short of what was hoped for. A severe criticism is passed on the collection of ecclesiastical hymns and the breviary composed in 1528 by Zacharius Ferreri, Bishop of Guarda Alfieri, in the kingdom of Naples (1523). These hymns, greatly to their disadvantage, are decidedly influenced by the spirit of the renaissance. F. Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, lays before German readers F. Hunter Blair's English translation of my history of the Catholic Church in Scotland, and Robert Story's "*The Church of Scotland Past and Present*." We must not omit to bring to the cognizance of English scholars Canon Stoeckl's eminent and recent work, "*History of Christian Philosophy during the period of the Fathers of the Church*" (Mainz, 1891). Whoever is acquainted with the excellent "*Manuals of Catholic Philosophy*" will no doubt be familiar with the

name and the numerous works of Professor Stoeckl, who ranks foremost amongst the champions of Catholic philosophy. Three periods are distinguished by our author, the gradual growth of patristic philosophy, its perfect development, and its decline under the incursion of the barbarians. Professor Stoeckl is fortunate in dealing with some great scholars, as Boethius and St. John of Damascus, who under God's providence were enabled to hand down the treasures of patristic philosophy to the middle ages.

"Historisch-politische Blaetter."—To destroy "fables convenues" is nowadays one of the most noble aims of Catholic historiography. Confining himself to the diocese of Strasburg, Abbé Paulus, relying on unimpeachable documents, successfully explodes the somewhat daring contention that only about the end of 1791 the revolutionary government of France had set itself to persecute the Catholic Church. Other articles describe Dr. John Eok's opinions about the "usura." A long series of suggestive articles on "Ireland's history at the end of the last century" is contributed by F. Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall. As may be readily guessed, he takes advantage of Mr. Lecky's splendid work of England's history in the last century. But far from blindly following him, he points out many grievous defects by which full justice is denied to Ireland. Abbé Paulus happily revives the memory of the learned Dominican scholar, William Hammer, who, at the outbreak of the Reformation as a scholar and a preacher, has well deserved of the church. In another article, part of a correspondence is printed between Cardinal Consalvi and William of Humboldt, formerly Prussian ambassador at Rome. Father Wolfgruber, a learned Benedictine of Vienna, the biographer of Cardinal Rauscher, has just brought out a "Life of Cardinal M'gazzi," who was archbishop of Vienna in the time of Joseph II., and proved himself to be a strong supporter of ecclesiastical liberty against the encroachments of this Emperor.

"Stimmin aus Maria Laach."—F. Lehmkuhl contributes an article on some errors in social philosophy, as corrected by the recent encyclical letter of the Holy Father, "De conditione opificum."

F. Beissel comments on the holy Coat of Treves. In Germany we have not many scholars who could vie with F. Beissel in solid learning as to the ecclesiastical history of Treves, which he has wonderfully described in many very thorough works. T. Schintz treats on the devotions of Catholic Denmark in the period immediately preceding the outburst of the Reformation.

F. Frick affords an exhaustive critique on the elaborate and painstaking work of one of our best Catholic professors of philosophy, "Clemens Bäumer, the problem of Matter in the Greek philosophy" (Munster, 1891). To F. Henry Pesck we owe some articles on the philosophy of "scientific socialism," laying bare the disastrous errors of those modern socialists who declining Christianity and the authority of the Church rest their systems on anti-christian, or atheistic philosophy. Professor Kaftan in Berlin, looking out for a new dogma, old Protestantism being now superseded, is brought to task by Father Granderath. Damiani's contest with Hildebrand receives a thorough illustration by F. Pfülf.

On the far reaching question of races and nationalities in the United States and North America an article is contributed by F. Zimmermann. The second and third volumes of my history of the Catholic Church in Ireland (Mainz, 1891) are noticed by F. Pfülf.

Notices of Books.

Historia Bibliothecæ Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonificianæ tum Avenionensis enarrata et antiquis earum indicibus alisque documentis illustrata. a FRANCISCO EHRLÉ, S.J., Romæ. Typis Vaticanis. 1890.

WHILST Commendatore De Rossi, in the preface to "Tomus primus recensionis codicum Palatinorum latinorum bibliothecæ Vaticanæ" in 1886, has traced the history of the library of the holy See down from the first century to the period of Innocent III., who transferred the library and archives to the Vatican, it has fallen to the lot of F. Ehrle to follow up this noble task and continue the history to the time of Martin V. In a splendid volume comprising not less than 786 pages we enjoy the first part of his vast enterprise. He has ransacked the Vatican archives, and next to them the Borghese Library, which happily is possessed of not a few books which formerly belonged to some of the Avignon Popes. Next we mark out the National library of Paris, and the archives in Toulouse and Avignon, on which he largely has drawn. F. Ehrle's method in grappling with the vast materials piled up in these store-houses is admirable. Owing to his intimate familiarity with mediæval scholastic theology and critical acumen, he shows himself fully

equal to the incessantly occurring difficulties which he easily overcomes, and so arrives at presenting us a vivid picture of mediæval literary life.

The first part is devoted to the library of Boniface VIII., so styled not from being collected by that famous Pope, but rather because it owes him its preservation, since in 1295 he caused that library to be transferred from Naples to Rome, and fully described. It is to the great credit of F. Ehrle that he has completely inserted the several indices or descriptions of the Papal libraries, since they enable us to take a view into the literary tastes and tendencies of the several ages. They are opened by the description ordered to be made by Boniface VIII. in 1296. Next we become acquainted with the vicissitudes of the library and treasure of the holy See, which for many years were preserved in Perugia, and afterwards in the famous Franciscan Convent in Assisi. John XXII. and Benedict XII. caused the library, part of which became transferred from Assisi to Avignon, to be described in A.D. 1323, 1327, and 1339. English scholars will be singularly interested in a document gathered for the first time from the Vatican archives by which John XXII., September 14, 1322, summons the abbot of St. Peter's, Perugia, together with John de Amlio "Canonico Lizpenfeldensi" to describe the treasure in Assisi. Due stress is laid on the *Recensio Perusina*, viz., the description of the papal library drawn up in Perugia A.D., 1311, by order of Clement V. F. Ehrle has it printed page 26-102.

The second part is exclusively devoted to the history of the library in Avignon. We do not hesitate to pronounce this part one of the most learned contributions to mediæval church history. Of course our author omits nothing to bring into prominence the origin, development, and special character of this library. But under his able hand these notices develop into a history of mediæval culture and theology. Far from satisfying himself with reproducing the several descriptions of the library, he is careful in collecting the single books under their respective scientific-disciplines, and putting them to the test of the most modern historical researcher. We wish to urge the attention of scholars to the *Recentio Gregoriana*, dating from A.D. 1365, and printed Ehrle, page 453-561. If there was any country which might boast of great scholastics it was England, as everybody may gather from the description. No doubt F. Ehrle is fully justified in ascribing the "*Liber de questionibus Arminiorum*" to Archbishop Fitz Ralph of Armagh. What has struck me most is the fact that not a single description of the Avignon library has any trace of the Archbishop's famous

"Defensorium Curatorum." In the last part of the work F. Erhle brings out the history and description of the Papal Palais in Avignon, and moreover has attached eight photos. illustrating the several parts of the Palazzo. The whole work, the result of unwearied and painstaking labours, calls for unqualified praise. Let us hope soon to have a publication of the second and absorbing volume.

Handbook of the Christian Religion; for the use of Advanced Students and the Educated Laity. By REV. W. WILMERS, S.J. From the German. Edited by REV. JAMES CONWAY, S.J., Canisius College, Buffalo, N.Y. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1891. (\$1.50 net).

HERE is a book which may be cordially recommended. It gives, in idiomatic English and in sufficient detail for popular purposes, an exposition of Catholic, apologetic, dogmatic, and moral theology. Such a work will prove very useful, surely, in higher schools whether of boys or girls, in convent or college, and at home among intelligent Catholics. We feel persuaded, too, that—manuals of technical theology notwithstanding—many a priest will often find it useful, not only to put into other hands, but to turn over betimes in his own as a suggestive help in preparing vernacular expositions of the Church's teaching. It is, in fact, a compend of theology—taken from a standard German manual of half a century's reputation, and put into readable English, with curtailments and additions to meet the demands of English and American readers. Some of the added pages are so far "up to date" that they set forth approved doctrine on the rights of private property to the minds of recent Encyclicals. The book is issued with the usual permission of Jesuit superiors, and bears the imprimatur of the Archbishop of New York: we feel, therefore, that in a brief notice we shall best recommend it by informing our readers of the nature of its contents and the manner in which the topics it discusses are treated. "Truth of the Catholic Religion," "Christian Dogma," and "Christian Moral" are the three parts into which the work is divided, and in each of the parts the general nature of the proofs urged is respectively philosophical, theological, and ethical. As sub-divisions of the first part we have a section in Revelations, with chapters on Revelation in general, on pre-Christian (Primitive, Patriarchal, and Mosaic) and Christian, the last-named a full apologetic treatment of the divine

claim of Our Lord and his religion ; then a section on the Church, as the dispenser of this religion, with chapters on its institution (philosophically dealt with), its end (a valuable chapter), its constitution (under which is treated the Primacy of St. Peter and his successors), its "marks" and its teaching (under which last we have a very able treatment of the Church's teaching, office, and infallibility), and the sources of her teaching, viz., scripture and tradition, and the very important question of the Rule of Faith. The second part is divided into two sections. The first treats on "God, the author and restorer of our salvation," and has chapters on the existence and nature, unity, and attributes of God ; on God as the Creator (with clear explanation of creation, pantheism, &c.) of the spiritual world (angels, good and bad), and the material world, especially man. The treatment of man's origin is sufficiently full, and embraces the question of the unity of the human race, the meaning of "God's image and likeness," original sin, &c. Another chapter follows on the Redeemer, and is a compact English christology. The other section of the second part treats on the realisation of the plan of salvation in individuals, and embraces chapters on Grace ; on the Sacraments (nearly a hundred pages being devoted to a useful *exposé* of the institution, nature, grace, conditions, &c., of each Sacrament); on the necessity of the Church, and on the Last Things. The third section deals with (1) Christian Moral in general (law, as the objective norm of human action ; conscience, as the subjective norm ; freewill, &c., as the condition of morality ; and moral, good and evil ; and (2) Christian moral in particular, under which we have chapters on Duties towards God (Faith, Hope, Charity, Religion, and Worship), towards Self (character of Christian self-love, right of private property, &c.), and towards Neighbours, with a final chapter on Works of Supererogation, or Christian Perfection. It would be impossible to give extracts illustrative of the manner in which the multitude of questions are treated. Each chief statement is succinctly set forth in larger, blacker type, and is followed by the proofs given in support of it—all less important matter, and the numerous passages explanatory of technical terms, of definitions, &c., being marked off in a smaller type than the body of the proof. As to the character of the treatment accorded to the questions, we may say that it is on orthodox lines, but without either acrimony or narrowness, and sufficiently recognising the difficulties now felt, or the various alternative theories which a Catholic is more or less free to hold. This is noteworthy in the explanations of the Creation of both the world and man, and the

necessary references to evolutionary hypotheses. We could have wished that a more direct reference had been made in the treatment of marriage to the position of Catholics to the modern laws of Divorce, though the text, of course, lays down the indissolubility of marriage; and we would suggest for another edition the simplification of references—what can (Symbol-Later) convey to the ordinary reader—and the translation of a text like “Quod Semper, &c.,” of S. Vincent of Lerins. Indeed, a book so good as this is—likely to be the companion in after life of young men and women who learn from it in college—would be the better, we think, for some commendatory references, after the several chapters, to good English works where special subjects could be further studied. Often enough our good literature goes unused, because many who would have recourse to it do not know where to look, or what to choose. It will be noticed how little we have found to criticise in this excellent, beautifully printed, well edited manual of popular theology.

An Exposition of the Epistles of S. Paul, and of the Catholic Epistles. By His Grace the Most Rev. JOHN MACÉVILLY, Archbishop of Tuam. 2 Vols. 4th Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. New York, &c.: Beuziger Brothers. 1891.

THE Archbishop of Tuam's volumes of New Testament Commentary have made their reputation. The history of the appearances of the portion we have now before us indicates that it has supplied a widely felt want. The first edition appeared in 1855, and was exhausted in one year! The elevation of the author to the Episcopate and consequent absorbing duties delayed the second edition; it appeared in 1860. This was, in turn, soon exhausted, and the appearance of a third was again delayed, this time by the author's preparation of his commentary on the Gospels. The third edition, which was published in 1875, consisted of the very large issue of 2,000 copies, and has now in turn been sold out. The one before us is the fourth; it has been carefully revised; and we expect will be as great a success as its predecessor. The Epistles, in fact, are just the portion of the New Testament which a pastor can least successfully expound and explain without the help of the accumulated wisdom of the past. No portion of the New Testament, on the other hand, has been to an equal extent directed to the proof and enforcement of heterodox tenets of every variety. Texts of S. Paul have been bandied about to prove anything and everything.

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And certainly the Saint's drift and meaning is often neither on the surface nor in the extract that quotation may have familiarized. Take, for instance, the Epistles read at the Mass on Sundays throughout the year, not seldom, we venture to say, the preacher would far rather deal with the Gospel. Yet how alternately and enigmatical those epistles sound—sometimes so quaint and far off from our modes of thought as if merely a piece of ecclesiastical archæology, kept up from Catholic Conservatism. Not seldom, however, as we happen to know, intelligent hearers have wished that the pastor would, for once, attack the mysterious epistle rather than once more the more patent lesson of the divine parable. Here is an admirably arranged, highly simplified, guide to the interpretation of both the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles, written in the vernacular by a competent author. Dr. MacEvilly prefaces his exposition of each epistle by an introduction dealing with the authorship, date, occasion, authenticity, and object of it. The commentary on each chapter is preceded by a most useful analysis of its contents, each verse of every chapter stands on one side of a column, on the other side of which is a useful paraphrase, while below are to be found the commentary itself, in turn critical, moral and dogmatical, and sufficient, speaking generally, for most of the exigences of controversy and for the purposes of the pulpit. It will be thus seen that Dr. MacEvilly's work is an English "Triplex Expositio"—analysis, paraphrase, and commentary—only it is more ample, and more modern too, than Piconio's admirable Latin work. Wherever we have looked into these two volumes we have found something to admire. Take at random the learned author's commentary on the difficult fourteenth chapter of the First of Corinthians, where the clear interpretation of the obscure text is followed by a highly useful consideration of its controversial use against the Catholic use of a Latin Liturgy.

The Early Church. By the late DAVID DUFF, Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edited by his son, DAVID DUFF, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1891.

IT is much to be regretted that David Duff, Sr., did not live to prepare his work for publication. The editor has indeed discharged his duties in a manner which reflects credit on his filial piety and ability. The book itself necessarily retains the fragmentary character of notes for lectures. There is a want of perspec-

tive and finish. Some subjects are treated at length ; others, equally important, are barely touched upon. The great doctrinal controversies and the relations between Christianity and the Roman Power occupy now by far the larger portion of the volume, while there are masterly sketches of St. Ignatius, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen. An account of the early Church from the pen of a Presbyterian professor cannot, of course, commend itself without reserve to a Catholic reader. What we should look for in such a work, over and above literary merit, would be a fair presentment of such facts and documents as tend to establish the writer's own opinions, together with an honest disposition not to distort or slur over the evidence which tells in favour of opposing views. Judged from this standpoint, D. Duff's labours command our praise. He rightly brings out the force of the arguments for Presbyterianism, but this peculiar tenet of his does not receive undue prominence. On the other hand, he draws attention to the passages of the early Fathers which support Catholic doctrines, and, while endeavouring to minimise their weight, admits the strength of our position. Thus, he quotes the extracts from St. Ignatius in favour of Transubstantiation, and those from St. Irenæus and Tertullian in favour of Tradition and the Roman Primacy. As he is untrammelled by any High Church views on the authority of the Fathers, he is able to fall back upon a line of defence cut off from an Anglican, viz., to question whether their opinions are decisive.

The doctrine of the person of Christ takes up some sixty pages. The controversies connected with this subject embrace so many important questions—the whole of Christology, the position of the Blessed Virgin, the Roman Primacy—that it may be well to dwell for a little on D. Duff's treatment of them. Nothing could be clearer than the account of the various heresies and their organic connection with each other.

When the divine nature of Christ had been established against the Arians as at an earlier period, His human nature was against the Doctææ, it became necessary also to discuss and settle the question as to the union of the two natures, or, in other words, as to the constitution of Christ's person. In the process of doctrinal development, the transition into the territory of Christology was inevitable. Now, here there were two possible extremes, even if the duty and the humanity were both admitted. There might be such a separation of the natures as to conflict with the idea of these existing in one person ; or there might be such a fusion of the natures as, while it did not destroy the idea of a single person, formed at the same time a new nature, neither divine nor human. . . . The two great Oriental schools—the Alexandrian and the Antiochian—while they agreed in rejecting Apollinarianism, followed different directions in their Christology, and out of their conflicting tendencies arose the Nestorian

controversy. The Alexandrian school, holding fast the thoroughness of the union of the two natures, and, at the same time, emphasising its mysteriousness, transferred the predicates of the one nature to the other, sometimes with a justifiable freedom, but sometimes also in a way that not only sounded paradoxical, but was extravagant and dangerous. "God was crucified for us," "Mary brought forth God," Θεοτόκος! such language had been used before this century. As far back as the beginning of the third, Clement had used the words: "The God who suffered and is worshipped." We are not to suppose, however, that these modes of expression were confined to the Alexandrine school, but this school delighted and abounded in them. . . . The Antiochian School, on the other hand, while holding the union were more careful to maintain the distinction of the divine and the human in the person of Christ, and some who belonged to this school were altogether opposed to the transference of predicates, and, so far from holding the thoroughness of the union at the birth of Christ, even taught that there was in Him a progressive revelation of the divine corresponding with the ordinary progressive development of human nature (pp. 504-7).

The relations between the two Councils, Ephesus and Chalcedon, are well brought out—how the extreme Antiochians were condemned at the former and the extreme Alexandrines at the latter, and how the moderates triumphed on both occasions. D. Duff does not, however, insist enough upon the dogmatic character of the word Θεοτόκος as the test of Orthodoxy. He calls it a shibboleth, and decries it in comparison with the Ομοούσιος. But surely the two stand on much the same footing, both being imposed by the authority of the Church. One is inclined to pardon him much for his admirable pages on the rank and dignity of the Blessed Virgin. There is little that a Catholic could object to in this Scotch Presbyterian's teaching. If he had only consulted such a book as Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, instead of taking at third hand certain preferred expressions torn from their context and served up cold, he would never have attributed to us the exaggerations which he rightly condemns. He is wrong, however, in assigning to the middle ages the origin of the comparison between Mary and Eve. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian had long before made use of it.

The conduct of the Roman Pontiffs during these controversies is, on the whole fairly stated, considering the writer's point of view. St. Celestine's relations with the discussions at Ephesus are well described; but, of course, we should prefer that greater prominence should be given to the action of St. Leo and his *Epistola Dogmatica* in connection with the later council. One could hardly expect D. Duff to miss the opportunity of having a fling at Vigilius and Honorius. He has made the most of his chance—more, indeed, than he could fairly do. He must surely have been aware that

Catholics have something better to say in their own defence than the lame and impotent answers which he puts into our mouths.

A word of praise must be given to D. Duff for the ease and elegance of his style—and a severe word of blame for so seldom quoting any authorities for his many debateable statements.

T. B. S.

Explanatio Critica Editionis Breviarii Romani quæ a S. R. Congregatione uti Typica declarata est. By the Rev. GEORGE SCHÖBER, C.S.S.R. Pustet. 1891. (Price 2s. 6d.)

THE title of this work is a guide and an index to its contents. All clerical readers will remember that in 1884 the Sacred Congregation of Rites published a new edition of the Breviary, which not only contained all the new offices issued up to that date, and all the Rubrical changes introduced in the previous year, but was itself issued as a thoroughly revised edition. Hence it became known as the Editio typica, and all future editions were to conform to it. The writer of the work has with infinite labour and no less success compared this edition with as many as eighty previous editions, some forty-three of which are modern, from the familiar presses of Mechlin, Tournay, Turin, Paris, Rome, Tours, Ratisbon, the other thirty-seven claiming descent from the Plantinian Press (Antwerp) of the press of Venice, Lyons, Rome, Cologne, &c. Every part of the office has been subjected to a most careful scrutiny—the Proprium de Tempore, Proprium Sanctorum, Commune Sanctorum, Officiæ pro aliquibus locis, even the Psalterium per Hebdomadam dispositum. The Antiphons, Psalms, Versicles, Responses, Little Chapters, Lessons, Prayers—nothing has been overlooked. Over one thousand variations are pointed out, and the different readings given. One or two examples will convey a clearer idea of the character and value of the work.

In the 8th Antiphon at the Benedictus of the 15th Sunday after Pentecost, we find the words :—"efferebatur filius unicus Matris suæ." Upon this our author remarks :—

Pleræque veterum editionum Scribunt *matrī*, præter Venet, 1648, et plurimas recentiorum. Sed S. R. C. in editione typica correxīt; *matris*.

He even considers the very quantities of the syllables—long or short—as far as they may change the meaning. Thus in the VIII. lesson of the same Sunday we are told, in reference to the words :

Tres autem mortuos invenimus, Inter veteres sola Veneta, 1648, existit, quæ scribit invenimus, reliquæ omnes, etiam recentiores, accentum in penultima syllaba ponunt.

The place of the asterisk in the different verses of the Psalms is noted and commented upon.

This critical explanation is preceded by an introduction full of interest, which first dwells upon the super excellence of the Divine Office as the continuous public prayer of the Church. He then devotes some seventy pages to a history of the Breviary and of its parts, and concludes with a chapter upon the care displayed by the Popes in keeping the Text uncorrupted. The general rubrics of the Breviary are also printed, several decrees of the Sacred Congregation upon the method of reciting the office are given, and a list of works or authors consulted by the writer or referred to in his Explanation, followed by a general index, brings us to the end of 364 pages of matter which, if not of popular interest, cannot fail to be attractive to the Liturgical student. It will be a safe and valuable referee in all cases where the genuineness of the text is doubted.

Questiones Selectæ ex Theologia Dogmatica. Auctore
Doctore FRANCISCO SCHMID. Paderbornæ, sumptibus et typis
Ferdinandi Schæningh, 1891.

DR. SCHMID is Professor of Theology in the Episcopal Seminary of Brixen in the Tyrol. He has published, in a volume sent to us by Messrs. Burns and Oates—very badly stitched, by the way,—six essays, in which he treats as many special questions in Dogma. The first is concerned with the power of God. Next, we have a dissertation on the relations of angels to space and time. The third is on the Fire of Hell, and the fourth on Fallen Nature. Questions fifth and sixth treat of Our Lord in His Incarnation, discussing, first, what the Hypostatic Union is, and next the “Weakness” of Christ’s human nature. The author writes for students and experts; but his pages are worth reading, not only because they are perfectly orthodox, but also because they treat with learning, sobriety and clearness of a variety of subjects which have a more or less intimate connection with prayer, preaching and the spiritual life. The two treatises on the Angels and on the Fire of Hell, respectively, are not perhaps as successful as the others, although they take up nearly half of the book. The Professor does not seem to be as clear as he might be, either as to the essential nature of a spirit or the true theory of sensation. The schools have discussed for many generations how an angel can be said to be in “place.” The most sensible

and satisfactory view, in the opinion of most theologians, is conveyed in the well-known dictum of St. Thomas—that the angelic beings can only be said to be in a place because they “operate” or apply their power in a given space; and that, consequently, to pray that the angels may dwell in our habitations is to speak in a totally different sense from that in which we dwell in them ourselves. But Dr. Schmid considers this by no means sufficient. He considers that angels, in the true and real sense of the word, pass from place to place; that they increase or diminish their “distance” from one another in heaven; that neither on corporeal things nor on one another can they act “in distance”—(what is distance in the spirit world?)—that an angel can expel corporeal things from the space he occupies, that he may have, in a certain sense, a figure and shape, according to the place which contains him, that this passing from place to place is by no means instantaneous, &c. This kind of view seems to be applicable rather to electricity than to a spirit. We are bound, however, to say that the Professor distinctly holds that an angel is not in a “place” by physical contact. He admits that “operation,” or immediate power to operate, has a great deal to do with localizing an angel, but he also holds—and expounds at great length—that the proximate and formal realisation of the angelic “ubi” is something “modal” superadded to the angelic essence. This evidently means that an angel is to some extent really “modified” by the superficies of the corporeal thing or organism which he occupies, or by the superficies of the circumjacent things. We should have thought that an angel could be as much affected by corporeal superficies, as, say, time by a coat of paint. As to the fire of hell, he thinks that it has a miraculous power given it by Almighty God, to produce the physical feeling of “heat” in the spirits of the lost. At least this is the way we understand him; and the theory, as he explains it, seems quite irreconcilable with any serious physical science. Indeed, Dr. Schmid seems to consider fire “an element,” just as they did in the middle ages.

Cultus SS. Cordis Jesu. Cum additamento de Cultu parissimi Cordis B.V. Mariæ Scripsit. HERMANNUS JOS. NIX., S.J.
 Editio Altern Emendata et aucta. Friburgi: Herder, 1891.
 (2 francs).

WE noticed and recommended the first edition of this work in our issue of July, 1889. The call for a second edition within so short an interval is surely an indication that the work has

supplied a need. Written in Latin, Father Nix's little manual is intended for students of theology and for priests; and in handy compass it gives the busy priest a sufficient and clear statement of the history, the theological status and the devotional aspects of the now most popular devotion to the Sacred Heart. Twenty-six pages are devoted to a sketch of the growth of the devotion, especially through and since the time of B. Margaret Alacoque. Forty-three pages next discuss the meaning and nature of the devotion; next its object—increased love of the Redeemer and the spirit of expiation—occupy twenty-five pages, and the remaining sixty pages deal in three chapters with the various forms of this devotion, its fruits, and the cognate devotion to the Pure Heart of Mary. An appendix gives "Formulæ consecrationis," Method of erecting the Confraternity, and the Rules of the Apostolate of Prayer. This brief summary will show the proportions and character of the book; its theological accuracy is sufficiently guaranteed by the source from which it comes; it bears also the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Friburg and the Jesuit Superior. Of its practical character one little indication will be enough to mention. In illustration of his contention that the heart is not an arbitrary, but a natural symbol of love, the author gives in a note quotations from modern writers in German, French, and English. The latter quotation is a very pertinent passage from Carpenter's physiology, given in its original English. An exceedingly useful help this volume will prove for preparing instructions and sermons.

Explanatio critica editionis Breviarii Romani, quæ a S. Rituum Congr. uti typica declarata est. Studio et opera Georgii Schober, Congr. ss. Red. sacerdotis Ratis bonæ Pustet. 1891.

THE recent publication of the typical editions of the Roman breviary, pontificale and Cæremoniale, was mainly due to the unceasing exertions of F. Schober, whom the holy congregation of Rites employed for this noble purpose. Now he brings out a full account of his all but immense labours undertaken for establishing a correct text of the Breviary. In the first part F. Schober traces the history of the breviary, and the main vicissitudes through which it has gone in the course of centuries. The second part opens a view of the critical labours resulting in the new text. Not less than 80 editions were compared, and as to the texts of the lessons derived from the Fathers of the Church, the professedly best editions

were employed. This "apparatus criticus" has a peculiar value, since any further edition of the *Typica* will have to rely on F. Schober's book. The whole work offers a signal proof of the fidelity with which the Church watches the text of her liturgical books. Unfortunately, not a few printers have acted on quite a contrary principle. For the future they are not destitute of what is to be observed in publishing new editions of the Breviary. F. Schober has afforded a full index of liturgical writers. He purposes to present us with similar works on the Pontificale, Missale, and Cere-
moniale.

Sequentiæ ineditæ. Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Wiegendruckten. Dritte Folge. HERAUSGEGEBEN VON GUIDO MARIA DREVES, S.F. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland. 1891.

THIS volume, which continues Father Dreves's great work, "*Analista hymnica mediæ ævi*," which was noticed in DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1891 (p. 478), is a collection of no less than 437 "*sequentia*." Not all the pieces in the volume, however, are strictly speaking, "*ineditæ*," but the greater portion of them are, and the rest are to be found only in printed volumes that have become as rare as manuscripts. "*Sequentiæ ineditæ*" is, therefore, not an undeserved title. In northern Germany, where the Reformation destroyed the Catholic religion, the Reformers destroyed also—almost utterly—the liturgical books, of which the very few remaining examples, in public libraries, are of priceless value. And the same is true of France, especially of the southern provinces. The volume before us has also this special recommendation, that it contains one song used by the Crusaders. Father Dreves found it in the town library of Chartres. It begins with:—

Exsurgat gens christiana,
Exurgat et romphea,
Tuba langat ut insana,
Vibritur ut lancea.

English and Irish scholars will be pleased to meet with hymns on S. Cuthbert, S. Germanus, S. Fiagrine, S. Mildretha, S. Thomas of Canterbury. Still more noteworthy are the seven hymns for the octave of the Feast of S. Laurence O'Toole, the great Archbishop of Dublin, which Father Dreves found in a manuscript Gradual of Eu, preserved at Rouen, and the hymn on S. Catherine, taken from a manuscript missal of Kilmore, now in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin.

Leonis X. Pontif. Max. Regesta. Fascicul. VII.-VIII. Colligi et edicoept. a Cardinali Hergenroether. Composuit Dr. FRANC. HERGENROETHER. Freiburg: Herder. 1891.

THE previous fasciculi of this learned work were brought before the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW in October of 1888. Since that time the eminent editor has been taken away by a premature death; and the above parts, prepared by him for the printer, have been brought out by his brother, himself a scholar in ecclesiastical history and an official in the Vatican Archives. The Regesta contained in fascicul. VII. and VIII. date from January 1st, A. D. 1515. to October 16th of the same year, and embrace numbers 13468 to 18070. With admirable method the Cardinal here brings within easy reach of scholars a vast number of documents relating to manifold questions of canon law. I may mention the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices, matrimonial causes, restoration of peace between Christian princes, and the reunion of Eastern churches with Rome. More than once King Henry VIII. is summoned to restore peace with Louis XII. of France, and James IV. of Scotland. Archbishop Wolsey is created a Cardinal, and Leo X., in sending him the red hat, carefully points out the mystical sense of this colour. A large number of documents refer to Scotland, and from them we may get glimpses into the condition of Scotch bishoprics and the greediness of nobles attacking the rights of the church. The Pope, too, provided for the better government of the Scotch monastery of Ratisbone, sending thither from Rome John Thomson, and appointing him abbot on condition of taking vows after six months. Let us hope that Father Denifé, the famous rubaretivist of the holy See, will continue this work, and bring it happily to its end.

Compendium sacrarum Cereemoniarum sacerdoti et ministris sacris observandarum in sacro ministerio. Auctore M. Hansherr, S.J. Editio tertia emendatior. Freiburg: Herder. 1891.

WE owe to Father Lehmkuhl this third edition of a manual which gives a clear survey of the rubrics to be observed by priests and assistants at sacred ceremonies. I may say that in my opinion there could scarcely be a more useful introduction to church ceremonies for the young cleric than this. The most recent decrees are used, and there is an excellent index.

Compendium theologiæ moralis. Auctore Augustino Lehmkuhl, S.J. Editio tertia ab auctore recognita. Freiburg : Herder.

THIS excellent handbook has been more than once recommended. We may now point out that the author has inserted the most recent Roman decisions, and has corrected some minor errors of the former editions. Students of theology will prefer the compendium on account of its comprehensiveness and the solidity of its doctrine.

The Life of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel History.

By Rev. A. J. MAAS, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College. Freiburg : Herder. 1891.

A MORE appropriate title of this excellent work would be "Harmony of the Gospel Narratives," since our author bases his life of our Lord on a most judicious and suggestive comparison of the four gospels. A mere superficial view in the laborious task convinces us of the great pains taken by the author to make his work as perfect as modern bible science allows.

There is scarcely one author who has laboured in this department, both in ancient and modern times, either amongst Catholics or Protestants, who has not been duly consulted and drawn upon. Let us only adduce the names of acknowledged and reputed scholars as Tischendorf, Friedlieb, Coleridge, Lohmann, Fillion. The narrative is preceded by an introduction commenting on the four gospels and their mutual relations. Being narratives of the same good tidings brought from heaven by our Lord, they supplement each other. The best way for bringing successfully before the reader's mind the life of our Lord is to adopt, and strictly carry out, the principle of chronology. We sincerely congratulate F. Maas for having adopted this course, and brought into easy reach of the student a very clear survey of Christ's life. Whilst the gospel narratives are connected in the text, we are presented with foot-notes enlarging on the most agitated biblical topics of the day. Briefly, but exhaustively, the questions are stated and disposed of. A singularly typical example seems to be pp. 443—445, where F. Maas, in a vast amount of learning comments on the day of the last supper of Our Lord. Let us further bring into relief the carefully treated questions connected with biblical geography and the political and religious institutions of the Jews. In grappling with these and similar problems F. Maas is quite up to the standard

of modern science. But far from being stamped with an exclusively scientific character our work meantime tends to kindle devotion. It is for this eminent prerogative that it deserves a strong recommendation. Cardinal Gibbons and the Archbishop of New York have combined with the provincial of the order to praise the work. Lastly we mention three maps representing Palestine in the time of Christ, our Lord's journeys during his public life, and a bird's-eye view of modern Jerusalem from the west side. To priests and educated laymen the perusal of this solid bible commentary will prove a source of solid information and deep consolation.

The Chasuble: Its genuine form and size. By FATHER LOCKHART, B.A., Oxon. London: Burns and Oates.

THIS pamphlet, a reprint, as a note tells us, from the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," is a crusade against all the spurious forms and sizes of vestments that are found at the present day. The original vestments he shows to have been shaped like a cape, without hood and apophreys, with an opening not in front but in the centre so as to allow it to pass over the head and rest upon the shoulders, falling gracefully to the feet in ample folds. Such a vestment would hang almost square behind, but in front when the arms were unlifted would fall almost to a point.

The modern gothic vestment, although a semi-revival of the original, is condemned because it falls to a point behind as well as in front; the modern Roman chasuble is more strongly condemned because of its shape and diminished size, and is fathered upon the French chasuble of the present day, for which the most scathing rebukes are reserved because of its fiddle shape, its buckram stiffness, its reduced size.

The chasuble which has the highest sanction is the original chasuble, so reduced at the sides as to allow easy action for the arms on which it rests to the extent of a foot below the shoulders, falling well-nigh square and almost to the feet behind, with a cross upon the back. S. Charles, at the wish of the Tridentine Fathers, gives exact measurements and shape for this chasuble; he requires a cross in front as well as behind.

Still as legislation now stands no special shape or size is imperative, and each one can consult his own taste and feelings until the

voice of authority is heard. Father Lockhart has nevertheless pleaded his cause well ; his principles are : 1st, respect for authority ; 2nd, lavishness not niggardliness in all that approaches God's altar.

Bernard de Montfaucon et les Bernardins (1715-1750). Par
EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE. 2 tomes. Paris : E. Plon, Nourut et
Cie, 1891.

IN two most interesting volumes, which form a sequel to his recent work entitled "Mabillon et la Société de l'Abbaye de Saint German des Prés" (1664-1707), M. E. de Broglie takes us through the domestic annals of the famous Benedictine Abbey for the first half of the eighteenth century. The grand name which dominates that period is Bernard de Montfaucon, the author of the "Antiquité Expliquée" and the editor of St. John Chrysostome ; and the confrères who worked with him—such men as Dom Mopinot, Dom Claude de Vie, Dom Charles de la Rue, and Dom Vincent Thuillier—loved the name of "Bernardines" which was given them by the literary society of Europe. The generation differed in many ways from that of Mabillon. The unity and brilliancy of the "grand age" had been broken up. It was the time of the Regency, of Voltaire and Rousseau, of licentiousness in phrase and deed, and of the Jansenist schism. No figure like that of Mabillon appears on the scene, with his prodigious learning, his strict asceticism, and his sweet and gentle spirit. Yet the Benedictines of St. Germain, even in that generation, were very great men ; great scholars, brilliant writers, and monks of regular and blameless life. Montfaucon was a lively and impetuous Frenchman of the South, an old soldier, who died in his monastery in the year 1741, at the age of 87. The mere list of his works is enough to frighten an ordinary labourer in literature ; an edition of St. Athanasius, an edition of Origen, which cost him twenty-three years' work, St. John Chrysostome in 13 vols. folio, which took another three-and-twenty years to finish, the "Diasium Italicum" (a work filled with curious notes on the libraries of Europe), the famous Greek Palæography, which did for Greek MSS., what Mabillon did for Latin, and (to omit many others) the "Antiquité Expliquée," in six folio volumes, with five supplementary ones of the same size, which placed him in the first rank among the *savants* of Europe. The industry, acuteness and perseverance of this great antiquarian and scholar have rarely been surpassed in the history of literature. He was surrounded by companions second only to himself.

Montfaucon had never belonged to the party which "appealed" against the Bull *Unigenitus*. Indeed, he did all in his power to open the eyes of those among his brethren who had been unhappily led into error by the Jansenist faction. But the Abbey opened its gates to all sorts of people—Catholics, Jansenists, philosophers, soldiers, diplomats, courtiers, and interesting personalities from every country of Europe.

M. de Broglie has found in the French National archives an immense treasure of correspondence and notes, written by or to the Benedictines, much of which is now published for the first time. We have sketches of his brethren who worked with him. We meet with a number of distinguished Englishmen, such as Bollingbroke, Prior, Archbishop Potter, and Wilkins (of the *Conalia*.) The letters from Rome are full of spirit and wit, giving striking pictures of what went on when Clement XI. and Benedict XIII. were Popes, whilst there are communications with almost every learned man on the continent.

The grace and vivacity of M. de Broglie's style make these volumes delightful reading.

Xenia Bernardina. Sancti Bernardi primi Abbatis Claravallenss octavos natales saeculares pia mente celebrantes edideunt antistites et conventus Cistercienses. Provinciae Austriaco—Hungariae. 5 voll. Viennae, 1891.

ON August 20th, eight hundred years had elapsed since S. Bernard, the "doctor mellifluus," was born. The heads of the Austrian Cistercian houses took advantage of this auspicious occasion for testifying their veneration for the great Abbot of Clairvaux in a most solemn way. Hence they brought out five splendid volumes which from their learning and critical method seem to lay claim to general esteem. In the two first volumes we are presented with a critical edition of S. Bernard's "Sermones de Tempore, de Sanctis et de Diversis." The learned editors are Father Ganauschek, the eminent author of the capital work, "Origines Cistercienses," and Father Gsell, first keeper of the archives in the convent, "Heilig Kreuz" in Vienna. No labour has been spared for publishing this part of St. Bernard's works up to the standard of modern historical method. Not less than twenty-four manuscripts preserved in the Austrian convents of the order were critically sifted, and, what is to be borne in mind, seven of them originate from the twelfth century, the age to which

S. Bernard belongs. The choice of these sermons is fully justified since the Saint delivered them before mixed congregations of clerics and laymen, and from the very subjects commented on they claim interest for wider circles. We cannot refrain from heartily joining in the editor's "Tolle, lege." More than other works of the Saint they breathe the odour of sweetness which pervaded his holy mind. Special mention is claimed by the two sermons on S. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, who several times paid visits to Clairvaux, and supported by St. Bernard, there breathed his last on November 2nd, 1148. Volumes second and third exhibit descriptions of the manuscripts preserved in ten Austrian Cistercian abbeys. It is a labour of immense value, whether we view the method adopted by the editors or the time it has cost them. Four years of unwearied exertions were spent on the work, and the latter is undertaken on the principles of modern historical criticism. Not content with the most accurate descriptions of the manuscripts, the editors have provided excellent tables and registers enabling the readers to make the best advantage of them. I may be permitted to urge on the attention of scholars in ecclesiastical history the vast importance of the second volume for Irish Church history. Driven from their native country by the most cruel enactments of the penal laws, *Irish Franciscans* settled in Prague, and took a leading part in the ecclesiastical institutions as professors of philosophy and theology. The lectures of these scholars, as written by their disciples of the Cistercian order, are preserved in the Abbey of Hohenfurt in Bohemia. Let me mention Fathers Feral, Patrick Vardaeus, Bonaventure de Burgo, Bonav. O'Kelly, Anthony Murphy, and John Scott. It is interesting to point out that we find here treated the most intricate problems referring to metaphysics and dogmatic theology. The fourth volume exhibits a general survey of the abbots, scholars and artists who lived and worked in these abbeys from their first foundation down to our epoch. These lists impress the reader with a feeling of awe and veneration for those institutions which fortunately have outlived the ravages of the Turks, and the vicissitudes of the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, and have bestowed immense benefits on many a generation. The fifth volume exhibiting the most noble proofs of the editor's diligence, learning, and piety illustrates the unexhaustive bibliography of the Cistercian order. No public library can be without these volumes. And for Cistercians it will be an *office de noblesse* to make themselves acquainted with the all but immense treasures collected in this work.

Cecilia De Noel. By LANOE FALCONER. London, Macmillan. 1891.

THE author of "Mademoiselle Ixe" has given us in this volume a psychical study conveying a religious parable, a combination which is obviously outside the lines of criticism applied to an ordinary novel. Lanoe Falconer's peculiar gift lies in a subtle power of suggestion, by which the gravest problems of this life, or the next, are opened up in the midst of airy narrative, seemingly of the iridescent tenuity of a soap bubble. In the present work, which is in point of scale a mere sketch, the old subject of the haunted house is treated under a new aspect, that of the spiritual impressions produced by the supposed ghost on a series of individuals of widely differing temperaments. To each it conveys a soul-harrowing experience, giving a terribly vivid meaning to all the familiar commonplaces of their previous religious teaching, but only to the last does it appeal as an object of intense pity and compassion, extinguishing the sense of selfish terror it inspires in human nature. The closing episode, in which the sympathy of the seer enables her to bridge for a moment the awful barrier of isolation, separating the lost soul from all fellowship with its kind, is powerfully conceived, and, as a realisation of possible spiritual suffering, is perhaps unique in literature. Yet there is throughout an under current of hinted cynicism, suggesting the explanation of the apparition as a phantasy of the seer's brain, predisposed by conversation on the subject, reflecting in its manifestations the temperament and idiosyncrasy of its creator. The secondary characters are sketched in with the same humorous insight as those in "Mademoiselle Ixe," and the dialogue is no less felicitously pointed. The sceptic's remarks on modern ghosts may serve as a sample.

If you study the reports of societies that hunt the supernatural, you will find that the latest thing in ghosts is very quiet and commonplace. Rattling chains and blue lights, and even fancy dress, have quite gone out. And the people who see the ghosts are not even startled at first sight; they think that it is a visitor or the man come to wind the clocks. In fact, the *chic* thing for a ghost in these days is to be mistaken for a living person.

Notice sur M. Hippolyte Carnot. Par M. LEFEVRE-PONTALIS. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1891.

WHEN Hippolyte Carnot was a young man he was pointed out as the son of the great "organizer of victory." In his old age we have known him as the father of the present president of the French Republic. This sort of inferior and relative honour

may satisfy a woman's ambition : "Cornelia, daughter of Scipio and mother of the Gracchi ;" but is surely rather a reproach to a man. Hippolyte, however, has some claim to a reputation of his own. In his early days he came under the influence of the Saint Simonians, and even when he left them he retained much of what was good in their teaching, especially their ardent desire to benefit their fellow-men. His long career as member of the various assemblies of the second republic, the empire, and the third republic, was useful rather than brilliant. In 1848 he became prominent for a while as minister of instruction and religion. He said of himself at this time : "I have always had religious sentiments too deeply graven in my heart to make me feel any difficulty about deference to the ministers of religion." He rightly boasts that he always observed this, avoiding "petty annoyances as well as persecution, and refusing to stop public processions and to prosecute the clergy." Would that his son could say as much at the present time ! Hippolyte Carnot's literary labours, however, are his chief claim to the notice of posterity. His memoirs of Grégoire, the constitutional bishop, his history of the infamous Barère, and, above all, his memoirs of his father, Lazare Carnot, are in many respects meritorious performances, and may yet preserve his memory when the name of the present holder of the title of president has long been forgotten.

M. Lefèvre Pontalis deserves a word of praise for his admirable address. He has taken care to point out where Carnot's hereditary prejudices led him astray in his opinions. Had this criticism been a little more severe it would have been still more worthy of praise.

Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliaments in Ireland. By HENRY JOSEPH MONCK MASON, LL.D., and M.R.J.A. A new edition by Very Rev. JOHN CANON O'HANLON. Dublin : Duffy & Co., 1891.

A RE-ISSUE of this able pamphlet by Canon O'Hanlon comes at an opportune moment. It is a valuable addition to the literature on the great question of Irish Home Rule. There exists a tendency in certain quarters to ignore the great fact that Ireland possessed a Parliament entirely independent of the Parliament of England from the very beginning of such institutions down to our own times. The laws passed by the Parliament of England possessed no binding force in Ireland, only so far as the Irish Parliament approved of, or re-enacted them. Poyning's law did not render the

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Irish Parliament subservient to that of England. It simply regulated the method of introducing measures into the Irish House, still leaving to that institution its immemorial and constitutional independence.

Mr. Mason begins by showing that from the first invasion of Ireland by Henry, there existed in Ireland a legislative assembly possessing the usual powers of such a meeting, and maintains his position by extracts from the enactments of Parliament itself. He quotes the statute 2, Richard III. c. 8, in which we have evidence of a purely legislative enactment of primary importance made in Ireland itself, arranging the executive government of that country and co-eval with what is called the conquest of that kingdom.

The conquest of Ireland by Henry II. differed from the conquest of England by the Normans eighty years previous. Henry landed in Ireland to enable one of the Irish provincial kings to retain his throne. The other various independent chieftains submitted voluntarily to Henry's suzerainty, and the work of conquest was concluded by Henry's settling the whole kingdom on his son John, and obtaining the confirmation of the Pope for such procedure. If Richard I. had children to succeed him on the English throne there can be no doubt but that John would have continued to rule Ireland as king, independent of any English control, and that the destinies of both nations would have been different. John's succession to the English crown united the two kingdoms under the one sovereign, but left the constitutional position of each unchanged.

In the subsequent Parliaments held in Ireland we find no trace of a claim to restrict its legislative independence until the reign of Charles I. The Parliament of England, in its contest with the Sovereign, in the reign of that monarch, seeing that Ireland was an independent kingdom, and only united to England by the link of the crown, sought to reduce the Irish Parliament to a subordinate position. They realised that if they defeated Charles in England he had still the independent kingdom and Parliament of Ireland to fall back upon. Charles I. himself, therefore, as we naturally might expect, was a strenuous upholder of the independence of the Parliament of Ireland. In his answer to a deputation of Catholic delegates in 1643 he said, that the Irish were not bound by English statutes without re-enactment in Ireland, "had ever been the notion not only of the people of Ireland but of the King and Commons in England; so that even King Henry VIII. got all the Acts for abolishing the Papal power, and suppressing religious houses, which had passed in England, to be enacted likewise in Ireland, which was the constant practice on the like occasions."

Grattan's great achievement, in 1782, consisted simply in the repeal of Poyning's Act. It was more a measure of simple reform than constitutional change. It left the intrinsic power inherent in the Irish Parliament untouched. It simply deprived the King and Council of the privilege to be the sole originating cause of measures introduced for discussion.

The study of the constitutional position of the Irish Parliament in Ireland is beset with some difficulty. Side by side with it there was another assembly possessing almost the same power, namely, the Great Council. This was an informal species of Parliament convened without the King's writ in cases of sudden emergency. The measures passed by this assembly were known as "ordinances," whereas the measures passed by Parliament were "statutes."

In addition to the Great Council there was also the Privy Council, a body which possessed certain undefined powers, and sometimes acted in a very high-handed fashion.

There were also two other recognised assemblies, possessing however only local jurisdiction, namely, "meetings of the great men and commons of counties;" and "meetings to parly" with inimical chieftains.

Mr. Mason explains the powers and privileges of each.

The sections dealing with the area covered at various times by Parliamentary jurisdiction will repay careful perusal. The "Pale" was almost constantly changing its boundaries. Outside the "Pale" properly so called, there were still tracts of country in which independent Irish chieftains still acknowledged in a hazy manner the supremacy of Parliamentary law. In some cases these were paid blackmail for their acquiescence in the existing state of things.

Canon O'Hanlon is to be congratulated in giving us this useful little book. We hope that if a new edition is called for he will break up the lengthy introduction into shorter paragraphs and chapters, and that he will even venture to treat Mr. Mason's own work in the same manner. Every one has not the Canon's cast-iron memory, and in our opinion it would greatly facilitate the study of the work if the conventional aids of chapters, headings, and a table of contents were added. We heartily recommend it.

Pombal, Sein Charakter und seine Politik, nach den Berichten der Kaiserlichen gesandten in geheimen Staatsarchiv in Wien. Von B. DUHR, S. F., Filsburg: Ferder, 1891.

PRINTED literature on Pombal, his person and politics, has increased considerably in recent years. The more notable additions to it are (1.) the work which John Smith, private secretary of the Marshal Saldanha, published under the title "Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal, with extracts from his writings and from despatches in the State Paper Office (London, 1843), (2) the "Quadro elementar das relavões politicas de Portugal" (Lisbon 1842-1876) of the Visconde de Santarem and (3) the "Colleca dos regocios de Roma no reinado de e Rey Dom José I. (Lisbon 1874). Father Duhr has, however, not confined himself to these, but has utilized the unpublished letters sent by the Austrian Ambassadors in Lisbon to the Court of Vienna from 1750 to 1777. It is to the despatches of Ritter von Lebzelttern, who represented the Emperor from 1768 to 1807 at Lisbon, that he has had most frequent recourse, and they shed fresh light on the mighty minister who really wielded the sceptre of the realm. It might be suspected beforehand that our author's almost exclusive reliance on these documents would bias him as a historian; this fear, however, is at once dissipated when we find this judgment on the Austrian diplomatists, that far from opposing Pombal's tendencies or disapproving his ecclesiastical polity, they prove to have been his admirers, or extremely indulgent critics. Besides this obvious fact we know that Pombal received large support from the dowager Queen, a daughter of Leopold I.

Father Duhr, favourably known by some historical treatises of considerable ability, has done his work in a way to deserve unqualified praise. Far from treating exclusively of questions relating to religion, his work covers the great area of public life; and he shows the disastrous effects of Pombal's autocratic government on every department of administration. It is the decline of his country for which Pombal is made responsible. Students of church history will be interested in the chapters on the "Inquisition," "Education," and "Ecclesiastical Politics." When Clement XIV., in 1770, brought about an agreement with the Portuguese government he could not obtain full justice for the church. The Austrian Ambassador's despatches enable us to measure the enormous want of accuracy and even justice, displayed by Father Thinnen in his well-known work on Clement XIV. But above all is prominent in this volume the splendid apology which the documents used by Father Duhr constitute for the society of Jesus. Ritter von

Lebeltern disguised himself and paid visits to some Fathers belonging to the German province, in their terrible dungeons. His descriptions of the sufferings of these innocent religious is heart-rending. This is one of the most splendid pages of ecclesiastical history in the eighteenth century. On May 14th, 1782, the Ambassador announced Pombal's death in the following words: "His last words were to the purport, that as a man he asked pardon of his sins from God, but as Minister he felt no remorse of conscience" (1. 182). Even if these words be true, the reader cannot part quite satisfied with Pombal; for we now possess irrefragable proofs that even as minister of the crown he has not deserved well of his country.

BELLESHEIM.

Plain Sermons on the Fundamental Truths of the Catholic Church. By the Rev. R. D. BROWNE. London: Burns and Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. (N.D.)

THE sermons in this volume have this good quality, they are brief. They are also plain, in the laudable sense that straightforward sentences and dignified but simple language make their meaning obvious. They are plain, however, in the sense that there is a wonderful absence of any eloquence, or imagination—in the last respect they are about as colourless as a photograph,—and a young preacher repeating one of them, to save himself trouble, might expect to set his congregation only to sleep sooner than usual. This want of animation in manner, however, does not prevent the matter being good and useful: and readers, as distinguished from hearers, will appreciate them accordingly. We do not understand why the author uses sometimes a version of the sacred text which is not the Vulgate,—as *e.g.* in Sermon xxv., where his text (Phil. ii. 10, 11) ends thus: "that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of the Father."

Freeland: A Social Anticipation. By Dr. THEODOR HERTZKA. Translated by Arthur Ransom. London: Chatto and Windus, 1891.

DR. HERTZKA, the author of this work, is an Austrian writer on economic science. He edits the Viennese review, "*Zeitschrift für Staats und Volkswirtschaft*," as well as the economic department of the "*Neue Freie Presse*." He has pub-

lished several works on the great social problems of the day, and in the original of the volume before us he endeavoured to illustrate his favourite theories by means of a narrative of the foundation and development of a new co-operative colony by a band of European adventurers in the highlands of Eastern Africa. The narrative contains far too much of scientific discussion for the average reader who delights in Rider Haggard. "Freeland" is not so wonderful a place as the kingdom of Kor and the land of King Solomon's mines, but those who are content to find that their story book is really a very didactic kind of nineteenth century Utopia will read "Freeland" with interest. The original was published in 1890. It went through several editions, the popular taste now running in the direction of Utopias, and it has led to the foundation in Austria and Germany of an organisation, known as the International Freeland Society, the object of which is to make an attempt to reduce Dr. Hertzka's theories to practice. A tract of land has actually been acquired by the Society in British East Africa, between Mount Kenia and the coast, and the Freelanders hope soon to occupy it. It seems, however, doubtful whether the British Government will permit the actual of an *imperium in imperio* such as is foreshadowed in Dr. Hertzka's pages. But whatever may be the result of the experiment the fact that it is to be attempted gives a special interest to a work, which thus becomes the prospectus of a new colony rather than a mere treatise on political economy disguised as a novel.

Catholiques Allemands. Par A. KANNENGIESER, Paris.
Lethielleux, 1892.

THE Abbé Kannengieser, despite his German name, is a Frenchman. His work is a study of the German Catholics in their struggle with Bismarckism during the Kulturkampf, and in their actual efforts to organise the workers of the Fatherland, so as to protect their interests and at the same time preserve them from the Socialist propaganda. The book is thus a study of the present as well as of the past. Its most valuable portions are those in which the Abbé carefully describes the methods of organisation to which the Catholics of Germany owe the position they now hold in the new empire. Next in interest are the word portraits of the German Catholic leaders, from Windthorst downwards. Here in England Catholics in general know very little about the actual position of the Church in Germany, and few of them realise that the Catholics actually form

one-third of the population of the German empire, and have a power and influence even greater than their mere numbers would indicate. The value of the Abbé Kannengieser's work is that it tells us clearly and briefly, yet with sufficient detail, how this splendid position has been won and is being maintained. The lesson which he wishes his own countrymen to draw from it is the old one that St. Augustine gathered from the lives of the saints, "*Si isti, cur non ego?*" Catholics on this side of the channel may with advantage ponder the same lesson.

Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Francaise. Par MM. ADOLPHE HATZFELD et ARSENE DARMESTETER (Fascicule 4). Paris: Delagrave.

IN our last issue we gave well merited praise to the opening parts of this important work. The last part we have received, the fourth, is fully up to the high standard with which the authors set out.

Illustrated Bible History of the Old and New Testaments. For the use of Catholic schools. By Dr. SCHUSTER. New edition carefully improved by several clergymen. Freiburg: Herder. 1891. (Price 1s. 3d.)

THE present edition appears with the approbation of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and many prelates of the United States, and bears the "imprimatur" of the Archbishop of New York. It is provided with a map, representing on one side Egypt and Canaan with the journey of the Israelites through the desert, and on the other Palestine in the time of Christ; and each chapter closes with a series of examination questions. The pictures are excellent, whilst harder words are spelled and explained in footnotes.

Instructions for First Confession. From the German of Rev. F. H. JÄGERS. By a Priest of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Second edition. Freiburg: Herder. 1891.

THESE instructions, in the form of question and answer, are specially valuable for solidity of doctrine and simplicity of language. They will prove, as they have done already with many zealous priests, a useful help in preparing children for first confession.

How to get on. By the Rev. BERNARD FEENEY. With preface by the Most Rev. W. H. GROSS, D.D., C.S.S.R., Archbishop of Oregon. New York: Benziger Bros., 1891.

A BOOK of good advice on the general conduct of life, addressed to Catholic young men, by an American priest engaged in educational work. He recognises that it is a good thing for a young man making his start in the world to set out with a definite purpose and an honourable ambition, and he points out the pitfalls that have been the ruin of many, and dwells on the qualities and methods that tend towards securing success, even though they cannot always ensure it. The whole is written in a Catholic spirit, and the advice given is full of manly, practical common sense. Some points have a special application to the state of affairs that exists in America, but as human nature is much the same all the world over, the fact that it is written on the other side of the Atlantic does not make it any the less useful as a book for young men here in old Europe. Indeed with many readers it will be an additional recommendation that the book is written and published in the busy go-ahead country of the Stars and Stripes.

The Oxford Movement. Twelve years: 1833-1845. By R. W. CHURCH, M. A., D.C.L. Some time Dean of St. Paul's. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1891.

ALTHOUGH of Oxford and the Oxford Movement, and of Tractarianism and the Tractarian leaders we have lately read much, both to Catholics and Anglicans the times and the events of some fifty years ago are so deeply interesting that it is with no fear of being wearisome that we again recur to them. Moreover, the volume before us differs in an essential particular from the works which have lately directed our attention to Oxford in the second quarter of this century. In Dr. Ward's life, and in the still more recently published volumes of Cardinal Newman's letters, we have the story of the gradual emancipation from early prejudice and ignorance, and the submission to the truth of two very different, but very remarkable men. With Dean Church unfortunately it was otherwise, though for a while he seemed to be travelling along the same road. Like them, he joined eagerly in the early hopes of "Catholicising" the Establishment which animated the first leaders of the Movement, and was led forward to a point at which it appears all but impossible that able, clear-headed and sincere men should remain stationary. And it is here that we find the difference between

Church and his above-named friends, which to us remains an unsolved problem—when Newman, Ward, and so many others went forward, and following their principles to a legitimate issue, joined the Church, the Dean did not move onwards. Nor did he recede, as was the case with some, and, suffering a revulsion, fall away from such faith as he possessed. No; he simply remained where he was, content to accept principles whilst denying their foundation, and to allow conclusions of which he ignored the premises. Now, we say, that this problem is all but insoluble, having no wish to assign as the explanation of an undeniable fact, unworthy reasons or interested motives. It may be that, from the first, there existed a fundamental difference between the Tractarians, who eventually became Catholics, and the Tractarians who died Protestants, although both for awhile appeared to be working on the same lines, and to be striving for the same objects; and we believe this to have been the case. The views of Keble and Pusey were never really identical with the principles of Ward and Oakeley; and if through affection for his early friends, and the prejudices of his Evangelical training, Newman was, at the outset, identified with the first-named leaders, as his horizon enlarged and his view became clearer, in his action he was at one with the last-named. Dean Church emphatically belonged to the section of the party represented by Dr. Pusey; and it is well that we should be placed in possession of an account of the important years between 1833 and 1845, which he, and those agreeing with him, consider to be the true version of their story. We can read it with the greater interest, inasmuch as his book is not marred by intemperate language or undue hostility to opinions from which he differs. He naturally considers Newman's conversion as an unfortunate "catastrophe;" but, he shows little bitterness when he discusses his leader's change, nor, at the many others which, occurring at the same time, he owns seriously weakened the party in 1845, or rather, as we should say, practically destroyed it. Indeed, whether knowingly or not we cannot affirm, but occasionally we come across expressions which produce a different effect on us to the one we should suppose a sincere Anglican could desire. Thus, in speaking of Father Dalgairn's position in later years, in the great and really serious religious battlefield of our century, that of faith and unbelief, Dean Church tells us that Father Dalgairns "*with his mind at ease,*" was able to do good service for religion, thereby admitting the advantage of a consistent faith if one would combat scepticism, and the power to be derived from concentrating our attention on a worthy subject, and not allowing it to be dissipated on the

trivialities which usually distract Anglicans from the main subjects of serious religious dispute.

We must, however, now endeavour to place before our readers a sketch of Dean Church's volume, which may be called both historical and biographical. It opens with a picture of the Establishment in the days of political excitement which followed the passing of the first Reform Bill, when Liberalism in its eager triumph, appeared to be casting around to see what further it might destroy, and when the Established Religion appeared to be an easy prey. That there was much to question and condemn in the Anglicanism of those days is undeniable. Dean Church considers that quiet easy-going worldliness was the besetting sin of the clergy, who though often useful members of a village community, were in no way capable of withstanding the criticism to which, in an inquiring age, they must inevitably be exposed, and in whose hands the fortunes of the Establishment were hardly safe. At Oxford two men were already prominent in trying to arouse a more spiritual interest in the Anglican Church, and to force others to realize the importance of a fuller religious life, and larger views of religion than were usual at that date; these were Dr. Arnold and Dr. Whately. Neither of these, however, gained any large following; and it was left to the three men first associated in the Tractarian endeavour to revivify the Church of England, viz. Newman, Keble and Hurrell Froude to accomplish what the other two had failed to perform. As is well known, Newman and Froude were closely united in friendship, and had spent the winter before the commencement of the publication of the Tracts in travelling together in the South of Europe, and Keble willingly joined them in the work. It was not until Newman determined to force on the attention of his generation, and that in a way which could neither be evaded, nor ignored, the great article of the Creed which, though repeated day by day, had been 'so long unheeded: "I believe in One Catholic and Apostolic Church," that the Movement may be said to have begun; and this determination was the result of the searching of heart and the communion of spirit between these three men. With them were associated others of lesser note, men little known to Catholics, and well-nigh forgotten even by Anglicans—Hugh Rose, Charles Marriott, Isaac Williams, and some few more. These were all fully alive to the necessity of speedy and definite action on the part of the friends of the Establishment, and at first were disposed to strike out somewhat unsystematically in any and in all directions, in order to stem the tide of Liberalism. A society was projected, addresses to those in high places were

prepared, and finally the issue of the celebrated Tracts was commenced. On reading of all these plans of defence, we cannot avoid the conclusion that they were inadequate to the occasion. That so much was done, and that so great an interest was created, was due mainly, not so much to largely signed addresses, or even to the extensive reading of the Tracts, as to the still small voice that week after week from the University pulpit of Oxford riveted the rising generation of Englishmen—that voice, teaching forgotten truths, and compelling attention by the powerful magnetism of an all but unprecedented personal fascination. That Newman was ably seconded we fully admit; but as each fresh version of Tractarianism comes before us, more and more fully does it become evident that his was the inspiring influence, and that the main interest of those years at Oxford centres round him. Dean Church dwells at some length on the fact that, even more than by a doctrinal revival, the movement was marked by a strong ethical and moral awakening, and that the principal instrument by which this awakening was effected was Newman's sermons. The Tracts taught the long-forgotten claims of high Anglicanism, their supposed Apostolic succession, the elementary Catholic truths of Baptismal regeneration and the Sacramental system, and touched on the large question of Church authority. These, however, might have remained unfruitful as do so many dry theological treatises, had it not been for the fructifying dew of Newman's sermons, which, each Sunday afternoon, taught their hearers the full meaning and ethical bearing of the Doctrines maintained in the Tracts. "Whilst men were reading and talking about the Tracts, they were hearing the sermons, and in the sermons they heard the living meaning, and reason and bearing of the Tracts, their ethical affinities, their moral standard." Thus, whilst the Tracts occupied men on the intellectual side, the sermons moved their affections and their will, and forced them to bring their whole moral being into sympathy with such teaching. Their assailed, it is no marvel that the old-fashioned indifference and worldliness, both in the Establishment and in the University, were for a while vanquished. Indeed, even to-day, Anglicanism still echoes back the notes of those times, and the sincerity of aim and earnestness in action which were then so perseveringly insisted on, are to be found as the lasting fruit of the Movement amongst High Churchmen.

Space forbids our dwelling on each separate aspect of these years, as painted by Dean Church. We have brief though graphic sketches of the principal writers of the Tracts; we have their aims and their

successes, their mistakes and their shortcomings—all told by a friendly yet a discriminating critic. We read of the growth of the movement, of the new recruits it attracted, and of the changes which soon wrought division in its ranks, and brought the so-called "Roman question" to the front. These changes, indeed, were charged with consequences which were to many sufficiently tragic in their results, and caused many actors in a Movement, which had begun as a brave effort to save the Church of England, soon to question whether she was worthy of being saved, whether in truth she was a Church at all. As is well-known, whilst this last question was pressing earnest hearts hotly, the authorities on their side were not idle. If men could be driven out of the Establishment by popular clamour and Episcopal coldness and University censure, Newman and his friends had good cause to go. But, as a fact, we cannot but believe that had Newman's early confidence in his Anglican position continued firm, the opposition he encountered would have been as powerless to touch him as is the tide to move a rock. As his own faith in Anglicanism, however, became shaken, he naturally found confirmation for his doubts in the attitude adopted by his own communion towards his teaching. Then followed painful years, painful even to those who, having gained the plenitude of the faith and found the truths tentatively touched on in the Tracts, fully realised in the glory of the Catholic Church, and thus had a source of joy within themselves which even "the parting of friends" could hardly lessen—how sad to those left behind, Dean Church lets us perceive, as he tells the tale of the "great catastrophe" which rent the Establishment in sunder, and, to thinking minds, destroyed the Catholic aspect of the national religion.

That Dean Church refuses to agree in this verdict is not unnatural. He refers us to the good work done by the Tractarian party since 1845 as evidence that the shock did not kill, nor even greatly arrest, the course of the movement. To this we may answer briefly; that in so far as raising the level of religious feeling is concerned, we fully admit that the movement may have worked as successfully and as permanently on High Churchmen as did that of the earlier Evangelical movement on men of a different stamp. But, if Dean Church would have us own that Tractarianism succeeded in proving that the English Establishment is in any sense one with the Catholic Church throughout the world, he must bring evidence of another character, and explain anomalies on which he does not even touch. Till this be done the Tractarian movement will remain simply an interesting phase of Christian life in a body which it found, and which in spite of it continues, outside the Catholic Church.

A Guide to Greek Tragedy for English Readers. By LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. London: Percival & Co.

THIS work, as the author explains, is not a handbook of the Attic Theatre, but an attempt to help the reader to a true appreciation of the masterpieces of the great dramatists that have come down to us, and to understand their scope and spirit. Not of course that a knowledge of such technical points and archæological details as are necessary for a proper exposition is taken for granted. There are copious references to the best authorities on all points connected with the drama. It goes without saying, in fact, that the writer has a very wide acquaintance with the literature bearing upon it, that he is fully master of his subject and is possessed by it. In spite of all that has been previously written, it is hardly possible to rate a new work like this, by a thoroughly competent hand, too highly, if we think what the Greek Drama is in itself, and what have been its effects upon human culture. There is nothing in the whole range of art so complete and perfect. Each play, whether of Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides, is in its own style a finished specimen; and the plays of these three great masters represent to us the Greek Tragic Drama. Admittedly it is at the head of all literary performances as an example of exquisite symmetry of form, of severe, but not overdone proportion. But besides its own transcendent merits we have to consider its influence upon the Drama of succeeding times. Roman Tragedy was a faint echo of that of Greece. It retained no strong hold on the people. Beyond a few fragments its earlier productions are lost.—(One proof that its merits were not of an high order.) And we only possess in their entirety the Tragedies ascribed by Quintilian to Seneca the Philosopher. These show very considerable power in some ways, though it is scarcely questioned that they were written to be read rather than acted. But it was from them, not from the Greek plays directly that the lines were taken on which the Italian Drama and then the French was constructed. If the influence of the Greek form is scarcely to be seen in the greater originality and freedom of the Spanish and English Theatre, it cannot be denied that it has cast a spell upon the greatest poetical geniuses of later times. Among those who have attempted either by exact imitation or literal transcription to reproduce Greek Tragedy as far as the modern mould of thought and phraseology will allow are such names as Milton, Goethe, Shelley, Browning. Further, the study of Greek Tragedy is fruitful in quite a different direction viz: in the history of ethics and religion. It is

the great source, and for the most flourishing and expansive period of their history, the only source from which we can learn the real views of a race intellectual, and mentally gifted beyond all others, as to the relations between the supernatural powers and man—how near in spite of an obscene and repulsive mythology they approached to the idea of Supreme righteousness—what appealed to their minds as the most effective sanction of their ingrained sense of right and wrong. On all these matters, as Mr. Campbell says, "the poet must have thought deeply, and his work must be the sincere expression of his thought."

Still, he would not have been so much in advance of his fellow-citizens, and he probably reflected the opinions of the more serious minded Athenians of the day. This, at any rate, not merely from an ethical and religious point of view, but as the key to the right interpretation of Greek Tragedy, with its first impression of hopeless woe, is the most important point under discussion.

The author devotes the first three chapters, all interesting and suggestive, to Tragedy in General, Tragedy Ancient and Modern (in which he speaks briefly, but very sensibly about the famous unities), and the Origin and Growth of Tragedy. Then comes the choice of subjects, which was practically so limited, and the Conditions of Representation. Some of these, for instance, the immense size of the theatre, the make-up of the actor, the Cothurnus with its high heels, and the padding to increase his stature and size—the mask with its speaking-tube, and the consequent slow and measured enunciation, of necessity affected the character of the Drama itself. "Rapidity of movement must have been impossible to one booted with the Cothurnus. . . .

Fine shades of facial expression must in any case have been lost in that large space and all attempts at producing such effects must have been impossible with the mask. . . . The Actor's art must have been different from anything known among ourselves. . . . Changes of attitude marking critical points of the action must have been maintained a considerable time, to enable the whole body of spectators to realize them. . . . The Actor was a sort of speaking statue . . . the whole scene bore a majestic resemblance to the marble reliefs with which in later times the stage was adorned much as the Panathenaical procession saw itself reflected in the Parthenon frieze. It by no means follows that the effect produced was mechanical or unnatural. It should rather be said that the expression of sustained passion under these conditions, required an intensity of realization such as few even of our greatest actors have

ever attained. . . . As to "looking the part" so far as features were concerned that task was left to the mask modeller, who must have had something of the Statuary's skill." Now this same impression of the "statuesque" is produced by the *reading* of the play. — It is a commonplace of criticism admitted by men as dissimilar in genius as De Quincey and Macaulay. "The creations of the great dramatists of Athens," says the latter, in his usual downright and summary style, "produce the effects of magnificent sculpture, conceived by a mighty imagination, polished with the utmost delicacy, embodying ideas of ineffable majesty and beauty, but cold, pale and rigid, with no bloom on cheek and no speculation in [the eye.] In all the draperies, the figures and the faces in the lovers and the tyrants, in the Bacchantes and the Furies, there is the same marble chillness and deadness. This of course is the truth to a certain extent, but it is far from being the whole truth. — "Like the kindred arts of dancing, singing and epic recitation Greek Tragedy adhered to certain conventional lines, but within the limits prescribed by tradition it enjoyed greater freedom than any. It has been truly said that under the marble exterior of Greek literature was concealed a soul thrilling with spiritual emotion, and it is not less true that beneath the Greek serenity and brightness lay, thinly veiled, a profound sadness which, as Hegel has said, "knows the hardness of fate, but is not by that knowledge driven out of freedom and measure."... Whatever may have been true of the earlier poets, both Æschylus and Sophocles were yet more profoundly convinced than the Athenians that there were things worth living for, ay, and things one had better die than lose, and this not in some far off mysterious, transcendental sense (though they had their mysticisms), but in a sense which every true Athenian heart could recognise. Which is there among their extant plays that does not affirm the endless worth of home, of country, of religion, of domestic purity, of civic freedom, of faithfulness, of personal honour, of humanity, of piety. The fact is plain that among the Athenians of the early fifth century the higher spirits had an assurance to which their poets sought to give effect, that an essential righteousness lay deep in the divine counsels, and that sin (in the form of injustice) was the prime cause of suffering. They also felt that the essentially noble human being, though he might err and be unfortunate, must in the end be justified. In the gradual and fitful growth of these moral ideas, within the outward form of fatalistic legends lies the chief interest of Greek Tragedy. As he repeats on the next page its morality is only incipient, but is not the less real and deep, and it is

the struggle of morality with fatalism that gives its most abiding charm." Chapter sixth on the Leading Thoughts—Morality and Destiny, and the interpretation of life,—as will be seen from these extracts, is of deep and general interest, and the subject will have a fascination for many an one who has never read nor purposes reading a line of Greek tragedy, either in the original or in a translation. But we have much outrun the limits of a short notice. The succeeding chapters discuss the dialogue and chorus, dramatic construction, characterisation, and all are equally suggestive. The few reliable facts as to the lives of the three masters are given simply, and there is a brief estimate of their individual styles, and of the several plays of the two elder ones that are extant. The concluding chapter, which was apparently delivered in the first instance as an independent lecture, contains an enumeration of the many successful attempts made in recent years to put various Greek tragedies on the stage in Great Britain and the United States. We need scarcely add that the book will fulfil most admirably the end which the author so modestly states in his preface, though it would be an ungracious omission not to allude to his very excellent and scholarly translation of the passages quoted throughout the work, and especially in the chapter entitled "Fragments of Lost Plays."

Books Received.

WE acknowledge the receipt of the following books. On some of them notices have been written, but are unavoidably held over till next quarter, while others have reached us too late for perusal for the present number. *Jesus Christ*, by Father Didon, O.P. 2 vols., Kegan Paul & Co.—*La Théologie Populaire de N. S. Jesus Christ*, Conférences prêchées à Paris par l'Abbé E. Le Camus. Letouzey et Ané, Paris.—*Der Positivismus von Tode August Comtès bis auf unsere Tage* (1857-1891). Von Hermann Gruber, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herder.—*A Guide to Greek Tragedy for English Readers*, by Lewis Campbell. London: Percival & Co.—*Pre-tridentine Doctrine*, a review of the Commentary on the Scriptures of Thomas de Vio, Cardinal of St. Xystus, commonly called Cardinal Cajetan. By Robert C. Jenkyns, M.A. David Nutt,

London.—*Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees*, (1869-1887). By Ignaz von Döllinger: authorised translation. T. & T. Clark, 1891.—*Etudes Religieuses*, Sept., Oct., Nov., 1891.—*Gertrude Mannering*, a tale of Sacrifice. By Frances Noble, 4th edit. Art and Book Company.—*A Wasted Life and Murr'd*. By Lady Gertrude Stock. Hurst and Blackett, 1892.—*The place of authority in Matters of Religious Belief*. By Vincent Henry Stanton D.D., Longmans, Green & Co.—*St. Mary's Seminary and St. Sulpice*, Baltimore. Memorial volume of the Centenary. John Murphy, Baltimore.—*The Industrial and Commercial History of England* (Lectures delivered to the University of Oxford). By the late James E. Thorold Rogers, edited by his son. F. Unwin, London. A standard work of the highest value to those interested in social and economic questions, and full of research.—*The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages*, drawn from the secret archives of the Vatican and other original sources. From the German of Dr. Ludwig Pastor, edited by F. J. Antrobus, of the Oratory, 2 vols. J. Hodges, London. We shall review this great work later on at length. It remakes history for the period with which it deals, i.e. from 1305 to 1458. It hides nothing, tells of the sins of the saints, as the Bible does, and boldly follows the command of Leo XIII., to write history according to its facts, without fear or concealment. It is a work palpitating with interest.—*St. John and the Cross, His Life and Works*. By David Lewis, M.A. Two vols. second edition, revised. Thos. Baker, London. A splendid edition of these invaluable works; excellent type and paper, and most readable.—*Triplex Expositio Epistolæ ad Romanos*. R. P. Bernardini a Piconio, adusum studiosorum et Sacerdotum emendata per P.M. Hetzenauer a Zell prope Kufstein. Oeniponte, 1891.—*Social and Present-day Questions*. By F. W. Farrar, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton.—*The Apology of the Christian Religion*. By James Macgregor, D.D. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.—*Ireland and St. Patrick*. By W. B. Morris, of the Oratory of St. Philip, Neri. Burns and Oates, London. A fascinating book, to which we shall return with pleasure.—*Meditations on the principal Truths of Religion, and on the hidden and public life of our Lord Jesus Christ*. By the Most Rev. Dr. Kirby, Archbishop of Ephesus. Gill & Sen, Dublin. A work breathing piety, enriched with copious learning from the Scriptures and the Fathers, and thoroughly practical. It was written for the Irish Seminarists in Rome, and it will be found to contain treasures of instruction for English speaking Seminarists, and for Priests,

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